

Landslide gives Mrs Gandhi power to amend constitution

Mrs Indira Gandhi, triumphantly surveying her landslide victory in the Indian general election last night, said the people had realized their "big mistake" in ousting her almost three years ago. With 310 results in, Mrs Gandhi's party had

captured 239 seats against the Janata party's 13. She now appears sure of commanding sufficient votes in the lower house to amend the constitution, should she want to. She could also dissolve the state governments.

Indians realize 'big mistake' in ousting her three years ago

m Richard Wigg
hi, Jan 7

Mrs Indira Gandhi was winning a landslide victory in the Indian general election tonight more than three quarters of the Lok Sabha seats so far counted, failing to her party 1. Of the 310 results available she had 239 against the Janata's 13.

With her allies among the other groups, Mrs Gandhi was able to command more than enough votes in the Lower House to amend the Constitution, should she desire.

The former Prime Minister justifiably justified her recourse to the 15-month emergency on grounds that the parliamentary system was not able to respond adequately to India's pending needs.

Only a two thirds majority required in the Lok Sabha

begin the amendment process, which Mrs Gandhi already

initiated during her earlier term

Prime Minister, firmly

he could also follow the present set by the Janata government in dissolving the state assemblies after the present election in order to leave an even greater concentration of power, perhaps in name of stability, the great demand by the Indian electors at time.

Ir Surendra Mohan, the

Janata party's general secretary, conceded tonight that his party had no hope of victory. He pledged his party "to serve the people against any erosion of their democratic rights".

Mrs Gandhi's victory is even greater than that achieved in 1971 and this time not counting the support of regional allies like the Tamil DMK party and the Muslim group.

Mrs Gandhi won a personal victory in the handicapped Medak constituency in south India by a massive 219,000 majority and was ahead of the Janata contender in her old Rae Bareilly constituency in northern India by some 64,000 votes. Mr Sanjay Gandhi, her younger son, defeated the Janata sitting MP in the adjacent Amethi constituency, having been trounced by him three years ago.

The other parties' performances so far are: the anti-Mrs Gandhi Congress, 6—a result which caused Mr Devaraj Urs, the party's national president and Karnataka Chief Minister to resign today; Marxist Communist Party, 6; the Lok Dal Party of Mr Charan Singh, 9; the Tamil Regional Party DMK, 13; Muslim League, 3; pro-Moscow Communist Party, 2.

This is a remarkable and highly personalized success with the voters for 62-year-old Mrs Gandhi, who campaigned like no other candidate.

None of her party's men was independently respected and many were young and untried voters.

As one dedicated Janata supporter, who suffered under Mrs Gandhi's emergency, put it: "All the negative aspects of Janata's rule—or non-rule—have gone home very deeply with the Indian people."

Mrs Gandhi's residence at Willingdon Crescent here was the destination of well-wishers, old friends and place-seekers on a huge scale throughout the day. Mrs Gandhi indicated she would only make a full statement of her intentions for Government after all the results declared so far—a crushing blow for Mr Devaraj Urs.

Asking people their reasons for voting Mrs Gandhi back so decisively, it was clear that similar sentiments were felt regardless of social status. For the poorer people the uncontrolled price rises during the past nine months seem to have

done more damage to the two wings of the Janata party than any other factor among popular voters.

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As she triumphantly surveyed

the results today, she said that the Indian people had realized their "big mistake" in ousting her almost three years ago.

Among Mrs Gandhi's most significant victories have been the capturing of 11 of the 13 seats so far in Gujarat, where Mr Morarji Desai's Janata base was supposed to

be. Mr Lal won 41 per cent of the votes polled; together the Janata and the breakaway Lok Dal totted up more than 52 per cent of the poll.

Twelve out of the thirteen

Punjab seats, switched almost

on a bloc to her (despite Janata's concern for the farming lobby).

In Karnataka, in the south, the Indira Congress has captured all fourteen of the seats declared so far—a crushing

blow for Mr Devaraj Urs.

The electoral arithmetic behind the win, by 55,000

votes, of Mr Bansi Lal, Mrs Gandhi's former defence minister, in his old Haryana constituency emphasized the disaster for the Janata party.

Mr Lal won 41 per cent of the votes polled; together the Janata and the breakaway Lok Dal totted up more than 52 per cent of the poll.

So far, only Bombay, often

described as "an island of prosperity" in India, has returned five Janata MPs out of the city's six seats declared. But one of the party's best known student members from the city saw his majority drop by more than 20 per cent.

Bernard Levin page 10

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Stormont talks rapidly run into trouble

From Christopher Thomas
Belfast

The Government's constitutional conference on power devolution to Northern Ireland ran into deep trouble last night within hours of being launched at Stormont.

Roman Catholic political leaders claimed they were being prevented from discussing the emotive issue of Irish unity, and the conference broke up after five hours in an atmosphere of dismay.

The parties agreed to continue the conference today, when each in turn will press its written submission to Mr Humphrey Atkins, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, on how they believe political progress should proceed.

The Social and Democratic Labour Party will inevitably introduce the central plank of its policy, that of Irish unity. There is no dispute over whether any of the parties should be allowed to make what suggestions they

want to the conference every

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Labour's left-wing: Reports of extreme infiltration into constituency parties to be kept secret

Antismoking campaign: Health Education Council tries to persuade parents not to smoke in front of the children

Troubled agenda at Aswan

The turmoil in Iran and Afghanistan are high up on the agenda at the summit meeting between President Sadat and Mr Begin, Israel's Prime Minister, which opened at Aswan in Egypt.

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agreement over which issues should be allowed for discussion.

It appears that Mr Atkins, with the obvious agreement of the Rev Ian Paisley, of the Democratic Unionists, said that discussion of Irish unity could not be pronounced.

SDLP sources made it clear that unless Mr Atkins modifies his position the party will walk out.

Despite strenuous attempts by Stormont officials to present the conference as a going concern, it is clear that it is in grave danger of breaking up in bitterness and disarray. Earlier in the day government officials were talking optimistically of perhaps introducing a White Paper to Parliament at Easter.

The latter pronunciation was

the way the Army in India,

getting it from the Pathans, used

to say it. In fact, all three are given in dictionaries as acceptable", an official said. "But we checked with the Afghan Embassy and the Afghan National Bank in London and they assured us that Khaibul was the most acceptable of the three anglicizations."

BBC newscasters and staff

announcers are obliged to

follow the units rulings.

However, it admits there may still be a few maverick presenters

and correspondents whom the news has not yet reached.

Khaibul may sound more like a ball game but ITN defends them.

If the conference collapses it

is the Government's first chance

to introduce its own

"imposed" remedies, probably

about Easter. But Stormont

officials are sticking by plan

to hold the conference every

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HOME NEWS

Pickets being drawn into West Midlands to prevent the movement of steel stocks

By Clifford Webb
Midlands Industrial Correspondent

The main steel union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, is rushing more pickets from South Wales and Yorkshire to step up picketing of steel stockholders in the West Midlands, probably the strongest steel stockholding area in the country.

Last night Mr Michael Leahy, a Midlands official of the ISTC, said: "Our strike com-

mittee have decided to step up the picketing of the private sector, particularly steel stockholders, where we have reason to believe they are taking over British Steel Corporation orders."

Pickets have been installed since Friday at Durell Steels, Willenhall, one of the largest rolling and stockholding groups in the Midlands. Yesterday the company gave a warning that unless they were removed within 48 hours serv-

eral of the group's works would have to close.

Mr N. T. Dukes, group works director, said: "We are not getting steel in or out despite an assurance that we are not taking on BSC work. We are very concerned by the conflicting statements made by Mr Sirs, who says that the private sector will be left alone, and members of his executive who have other ideas. They are apparently trying to make an example of us because we are

one of the biggest". Elsewhere in the region picketing appeared to be haphazard and confused. Firms reported that pickets appeared at their gates but left when local shop stewards intervened to point out that they were not producing or using BSC steel.

The ISTC is trying to prepare a big demonstration to greet Sir Keith Joseph, the Secretary of State for Industry, when he visits Birmingham on Friday.

Port Talbot: Fighting at the gate

From Tim Jones
Cardiff

Striking steelworkers at Port Talbot last night blamed militant political extremists for fighting that broke out at the main gate to the huge plant. The trouble started when non-striking craftsmen, white-collar workers, and management representatives tried to walk through 200 pickets who blocked the road.

About 4,000 of the 12,500

workers at the plant, which is due to close completely tomorrow, are not on strike.

Mr Thomas Fellows, an Iron and Steel Trades Confederation branch chairman, said the scuffles were started by people who had no connexion with the steelworks.

"The trouble is, you never know exactly who they are. They have offered us help, but we don't want it. We escorted these people off the picket line."

Mr Fellows said they had reported to the police a man who appeared to be inciting violence.

A British Steel Corporation representative said: "There were certainly physical efforts to restrain people from going in."

Mr Ian Kelsall, director of the Wales CBI, said that secondary picketing was widespread in South Wales yesterday.

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Confidence that output will continue

By Peter Hill
Industrial Editor

Despite the stepping up of picketing by striking steelworkers in various parts of the country, the British Iron and Steel Consumers' Council, the consuming industries' watchdog organization, claimed last night that companies were still confident that they could live off their stocks.

The organization said: "There are few indications of effective picketing, and companies have sufficient stocks to keep going for several weeks."

Mr Robert Atkinson, chairman of Aurora Holdings, said some of the company's factories, though picketed, had stocks for at least two weeks.

18 centres for strikers' claims

Eighteen special social security centres are expected to open in the next two days to meet steel strikers' claims. The first payments, expected this week, will cover only dependants. Work has begun at the centres. They are at:

North: Middlesbrough, Teesside and Darlington; South: Bristol, Cardiff, Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Birmingham, Coventry, London, Southampton, Portsmouth, Bristol, (two) and Torquay, (two).

South Yorkshire: Clamp on private works

From Ronald Kershaw
Sheffield

Picketing was extended to 40 private steel companies in the South Yorkshire region yesterday and plans are in hand for setting up secondary picketing as time goes on, Mr Edward Thorne, secretary of the South Yorkshire strike committee, said last night.

There were few incidents,

although a picker was knocked down by a lorry but not seriously injured.

Militant strikers converged on the Rotherham headquarters of the strike committee yesterday demanding that their union leaders settle for no less than 20 per cent pay increase.

South Yorkshire seems to be the northern centre of unrest in that dispute. At Scunthorpe,

there were few incidents,

Shotton: 200 in round-the-clock picket

By R. W. Shakespeare
Northern Industrial Correspondent

A round-the-clock picket of 200 men was operating yesterday at the Shotton steel works on Teeside, where iron and steel making is to cease in March, with the loss of 6,400 jobs.

Pickets from the steel plant

visited the premises of the George Mayers hardware company at Saltney, which stores and transports steel for the British Steel Corporation. Afterwards the company announced that it was suspending operations and laying off its seven drivers rather than risk retaliation later.

BSIC plans to retain its cold

rolling operations at Shotton, but its labour force of 4,200 may have to be trimmed.

Strikers at Shotton have run into a cash dilemma. They could not draw wages owing to the strike last week because the plant's pay clerks, who belong to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, have joined the strike.

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Corby: Tempers rise

From Nicholas Timmins
Corby

Tempers rose on the picket line at Corby yesterday and one man was arrested as steelworkers were out in force to try to prevent entry to the plant by a small number of steelworkers.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation pulled out its last 50 safety men at the plant when the management refused to send home the 90 or so ISTC members still crossing the picket lines.

But Mr Michael Skelton, ISTC strike coordinator at the plant, said the management was now "encouraging" those members still in to go home, and safety cover would be

restored if they did so. "We have also promised the management that if there is any emergency we will obviously go in and cover," he said.

A car load of pickets from Corby joined others from the Midlands in picketing Herringshaw Steels, a large stockholder in Salford, Birmingham, which the pickets say supplies BL and other customers. Corby pickets are also at two stockholders in Leicester today.

Mr Skelton said the local TGWU in King's Lynn had ordered drivers who took six trailerloads of imported steel out of the dock on Friday night after the flying picker left to return the steel or face losing their cards.

Scotland: Firms are spared

From Our Correspondent
Glasgow

There will be no picketing by the Transport and General Workers' Union of private steel stockholders in Scotland. That was decided in Glasgow yesterday by the commercial trade group of the union.

Its secretary, Mr Peter Talbot, said: "We have no quarrel with private steel stockholders at the moment. Any action by us will be only against the British Steel Corporation. My members are being advised accordingly."

The union's Scottish docks group which also met in Glasgow yesterday, decided to stop movement of all steel cargoes, raw materials and pro-

ducts in and out of Scottish ports.

Mr James Gilligan, docks group secretary, said delegates representing branches from the Orkney islands to Ayrshire made that decision in support of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. His group, representing 5,000 dockers, would picket ports.

Mr Hugh Wyber, Scottish secretary of the TGWU, said: "No goods which are the property of the British Steel Corporation will be removed by us. We have no quarrel with stockholders but, if they supply contractors normally supplied by BSIC we would re-examine the position and the question of picket lines".

Pay dispute set to disrupt Heathrow flights

By Our Labour Reporter

British Airways flights from Heathrow airport, London, are likely to be disrupted from Thursday morning because of a pay dispute involving 11,000 engineering and maintenance staff.

They have rejected an offer of an extra 1½ per cent on basic rates and at mass meetings decided to start industrial action, including an overtime ban and one shift not reporting for work each day. The action is to start at 6.30 am on Thursday and continue until 2 pm on Saturday.

British Airways said last night that it was too early to say what effect the action would have on flights, but contingency plans had been made to minimize the inconvenience.

More money would be available if the unions agreed to talks on productivity.

Only 37 out of 2,820 'police assaults' went to court

By a Staff Reporter

Only 37 of 2,820 alleged assaults by the police that were investigated by the Director of Public Prosecutions in 1978 came before the courts, according to official figures released yesterday.

The director's office said that there were convictions in 16 of the 37 court cases and 21 acquittals. Of the remaining complaints alleging police assaults, 2,154 were referred back to chief constables for investigation.

The figures were released amid mounting criticism of the decision last week by Sir Thomas Hetherington, the Director of Public Prosecutions, not to prosecute any police officers over the death last year of Mr James Kelly after his arrest by Merseyside police.

They show that complaints of police assaults forwarded to the

director increased from 1,093 in 1970, when there were 19 prosecutions and seven convictions, to the 1978 figure of 2,820.

The figures will add to the increasingly acrimonious debate about the role of the director in recent cases involving allegations of police assault, notably the deaths of Mr Kelly, aged 53, Mr Blair Peach, the teacher killed during last year's Southall demonstration, and Mr Liddle Towers in the North-east.

Several Labour MPs have demanded an overhaul of the system.

Relatives of Mr Kelly, who said last week that they were shocked and disgusted at the director's decision, added yesterday that they wanted Mr William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, to order a public inquiry.

Letter, page 11

Man questioned after end of house siege

By David Nicholson-Lord

A man was being questioned by police in north London last night after a 10-hour siege of a terrace house in Tottenham. Earlier a man barricaded himself in the house with a gun.

The siege ended at 10.30 yesterday morning after four members of Scotland Yard's Didi firearms squad climbed in through a side window.

Earlier yesterday an unarmed policeman had found a boy who had hidden himself in a room in the house. Inspector Anthony Laffan, aged 30, borrowed a ladder and climbed to a first-floor window, where he persuaded Constance Phillips, aged 14, to follow him to safety.

Neighbours in Greenfield Road, Tottenham, said they were woken shortly after midnight by screams from the boy's mother, Mrs Georgette Phillips.

Princes get bail of £15,000 each on drug charge

By Our Planning Reporter

Attempts to preserve parts of the historic "ship shops" in Portsmouth naval dockyard for reerection and display elsewhere appear to be doomed to failure.

The ship shops, which date from 1843, are said to be the earliest arched iron buildings in the world; the same form of structure was used eight years later in the Crystal Palace.

The hearing is before Mr Boyd, the Hull stipendiary magistrate. It was felt that a magistrate who did not hold a local appointment should hear the case in the interests of justice. Mr F. D. L. Lay, the Leeds stipendiary magistrate, is sitting in Hull.

Ship shops may be sunk

By Our Planning Reporter

The buildings, which cover four acres of slipway, are not listed and are to be replaced by new Admiralty premises. A demolition contract was awarded to Bovis last November.

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Weather forecast and recordings

NOON TODAY Pressure is shown in millibars



WEST EUROPE

France lets in British lamb for a period

From Our Own Correspondent

Paris, Jan 7
France will reopen its frontier tomorrow to British sheepmeat. But the move is purely administrative and temporary and has nothing to do with the decision of the European Court last year, which told France to lift its ban on British lamb.

British lamb and mutton will be allowed in on payment of a levy of six francs (70p) a kilogram. This will bring it up to something slightly above the current French price, which is about 22 francs a kilogram, and is very high owing to the usual heavy consumption and low production over the Christmas-New Year period.

The French market organization provides for the opening of frontiers when the threshold price of 19.85 francs a kilogram is exceeded. The aim is to maintain French prices, and therefore sheep farmers' income, at the same level, by increasing or reducing supply.

Mr Finn Olay Gunderlach, the member of the European Commission for Agriculture, is travelling to Paris on Friday, later this week, for talks with the French and British Ministers of Agriculture. He is expected to propose transitional measures on lamb and mutton, pending agreement on a Community organization of the sheepmeat market.

Herr Schmidt in meeting with Spanish King

Madrid, Jan 7.—Herr Helmut Schmidt, the West German Chancellor, met King Juan Carlos today at the start of an official visit expected to focus on Spain's attempt to join the European Community and the forthcoming European security conference here.

The international situation will also be on the agenda of his talks tomorrow with Senior Adolfo Suárez, the Spanish Prime Minister.

Herr Schmidt cancelled a planned visit to the ancient city of Toledo later today to confer with his foreign policy advisers on latest developments, including Afghanistan, West German diplomatic sources said. Herr Schmidt flew to Madrid from Majorca where he had been holidaying.

The sources said he was expected to make his first public statement on the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan when answering questions at a press conference before leaving on Wednesday. Both West Germany and Spain have condemned the Soviet action.

Herr Schmidt and his wife were welcomed at Barajas air

Rome's central role in church criticized

Rome, Jan 7.—Professor Edward Schillebeeckx, the Belgian-born theologian, said in an interview published today, that Roman Catholicism was too centralized in the person of the Pope.

The Rome newspaper *Il Messaggero* quoted him as saying: "The Papacy should be exercised in a less centralistic way in the future. We have to remember that in the early centuries the local churches were the fundamental, vital and primary centres of the church. Now the revitalization of the local church is under way because there is less need. I do not say no need, for centralization in Rome."

Professor Schillebeeckx, who underwent three days of interrogation by the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, last month to explain his ideas, was also quoted as criticizing the structure of the Vatican Curia.

"There are too many 'Popes' in the Curia", he said. "The cardinals in the Curia seem to be at a higher level than other cardinals and this modifies the image of collegiality as it was outlined by the second Vatican Council."

Asked about Professor Hans Küng, who was barred by the Sacred Congregation from teaching at the Tubingen University as a Roman Catholic theologian, Professor Schillebeeckx said he considered Professor Küng's views to be in line with church teaching.

Bishops meet: Representatives of the West German Roman Catholic Bishops' conference met today to discuss the Vatican order suspending the teaching permit of Professor Küng.

A spokesman said the conference was also considering whether the bishops should issue a pastoral letter.

French male preserve is broken

From Our Own Correspondent

Paris, Jan 7
For the first time since it was created in 1666, a woman was today admitted as a full member of the Academy of Science. Another victory for feminism is pending as the election of a woman is regarded as almost a certainty to that even more jealously guarded male preserve, the French Academy itself.

This will bring up to four out of the total of five academies constituting the Institut de France, those whose portals in recent years have been forced by women.

The first woman member of the Academy of Science is Mme Yvonne Choquet-Bruhat, a mathematician specializing in relativity, who was elected on May 14 by a strong majority. The announcement by the President of this "historic

French Opposition say oil price rises made budget meaningless

From Charles Hargrove

Paris, Jan 7

The elaborate and largely meaningless parliamentary charade, caused by the Constitutional Council's annulment of the budget for 1980 on Christmas Eve, was resumed today in the three-quarters empty chamber of the National Assembly, in an atmosphere of indifference.

The purpose of today's session of Parliament, summoned by President Giscard d'Estaing on December 27, is to approve a new budget, which except for minor details, is the carbon copy of the old one, but this time it has to be approved with full regard for all the constitutional niceties.

For M Raymond Barre, the Prime Minister, this resumed session is a mere formality, as the budget Bill has already been discussed at length, and adopted in December, and the Government has no intention of accepting any amendments to it.

The two government parties have taken the same view and decided not to intervene in the general debate.

Not so the Opposition, which is determined to use the opportunity to challenge the Government's policy, and every procedural device to delay the final vote.

Mr François Mitterrand, the Socialist leader, has declared that the Bill should have been thoroughly revised to take into account the price rises resulting from the Caracas session of Opec, which completely altered the fundamental premises upon which the budget was drafted.

"The Bill which was submitted to us in the autumn was mediocre, now it is absurd and unadapted," he said.

The Communists began today by tabling the "previous question" (which if adopted would have had the effect of shelving the Bill indefinitely).

The Communist motion was rejected by 288 votes to 198.

But the Government will again have to resort three times to the bludgeon of Article 49 of the constitution, which enables it to pass a Bill without a vote, as it did already on six occasions during the ordinary session last autumn, in order to overcome the obstacle of the Gaullists' persistence in abstaining in the vote.

The Gaullists argue that because this Bill is the exact replica of the previous one, there is no cause for them to change the stand and support it any more than they did before.

But as a result of Parliament will suffer another setback in the eyes of a public opinion.

Bonn clings to hopes for detente

From Patricia Clough

Bonn, Jan 7

The West German Government is clinging stoically to its much-cherished policy of detente and disarmament, despite the setback caused by the Afghanistan crisis.

The Soviet action has caused deep unhappiness and concern to the Social Democratic-Free Democratic coalition, which for 10 years has striven for more relaxed and friendly relations with West Germany's eastern neighbours and for disarmament.

The talks will also cover Spain's negotiations to join the EEC. West German sources said Bonn fully backed Madrid's application while being conscious of the problems it raised, mainly in the agricultural sector.

Spanish sources expected Herr Schmidt to tell Señor Suárez that West Germany supported Spain to join Nato. The Spanish Government faces strong opposition to Nato membership from the Socialists and Communists. Tomorrow Herr Schmidt will also meet Señor Felipe González, leader of the main opposition Socialist Workers' Party.—Reuter.

The talks will also cover Spain's negotiations to join the EEC. West German sources said Bonn fully backed Madrid's application while being conscious of the problems it raised, mainly in the agricultural sector.

It is particularly important to the two men that their defence and disarmament plans should not collapse in a year which will end with general elections.

Herr Franz Josef Strauss, the opposition candidate for Chancellor, has said already that their policy has failed and Herr Manfred Wörner, the Christian Democrats' defence spokesman, has taunted them with basing their policy on a misjudgment of the real nature of the Soviet Union.

A police spokesman said the man said during questioning that he threw the cigarette end through an open downstairs window "just for the heck of it".—Reuter.

Cigarette end fire killed 11

Rotterdam, Jan 7.—A 57-year-old Dutch cabinet maker has admitted throwing a burning cigarette end into a house in the Rotterdam docks area last Wednesday, causing a blaze which killed 11 people, including seven children, police said today.

A police spokesman said the man said during questioning that he threw the cigarette end through an open downstairs window "just for the heck of it".—Reuter.

Police invited to Corsican interrogation of hostages

From Our Own Correspondent

Paris, Jan 7

Three men alleged to belong to an anti-autonomist organization have been held hostage since yesterday in the town hall of the small village of Basteliccia, near Ajaccio, by Corsican nationalists.

The building was surrounded by about 100 sympathizers while special riot police threw a cordon around the village. The three men were interrogated yesterday evening by their captors, militants of the Union of the Corsican People and were allowed to talk to journalists today.

They were described as "dangerous criminals". They were captured and their cars searched as they arrived at the village during the afternoon, fully armed, according to the "Basteliccia collective", an extremist wing of the Union of the Corsican People, with plans to kidnap or even to kill a well known autonomist, M Marc Lorenzon.

Their captors invited the commander of the gendarmerie of Ajaccio to attend the interrogation. A doctor was also called to examine one of the men, whose health gave grounds for some anxiety.

One of the hostages, M Alain Olliel, an armourer of Ajaccio, admitted that he had belonged to the group "Francie" which carried out several attacks against autonomists and that he had been a member of the SAC, the strong arm group associated with the Gaullist Party.

He also acknowledged that he had come to Basteliccia with Commander Bertolini, a former regular officer, and M Leonelli, of Ajaccio, to make contact with another man and carry our reprisals against M Lorenzon.

M Olliel said he had never taken part in any terrorist attack but that he had heard his two companions in the car had done so.

It was thought likely that the three men would be released after the nationalists had given the utmost publicity to their capture and their "revelations".

The report from the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC) refers to recent crises in Iran and Cuba, which have raised questions over the effectiveness of the American Central Intelligence Agency.

But there has been still more recent criticism during the past week of the failure of Western intelligence sources to predict the scale of Soviet operations in Afghanistan.

Mr David Rees, a senior research fellow at the ISC says in his study that the extent to which the American intelligence services have demonstrated that the equations of Einstein had a single solution, that is to say that given the state of the world in a given moment, there is a single solution which describes the state of the world at all subsequent moments.

Mme Choquet-Bruhat acquired international fame in 1950 with her thesis which demonstrated that the equations of Einstein had a single solution, that is to say that given the state of the world in a given moment, there is a single solution which describes the state of the world at all subsequent moments.

Mme Choquet-Bruhat is a professor at the University of Paris VI, where she reaches analytical mechanics and astro-mechanics.

She has also obtained the silver medal of the National Centre for Scientific Research, and was a laureate of the Academy of Science, before being elected a corresponding member in 1978.

OVERSEAS

6,000 guerrillas assemble in what was one of the most militarily active areas

From Nicholas Ashford

Mount Darwin, Southern Rhodesia, Jan 7

So far there has been no need for the Rhodesian security forces to go to the assistance of the police to deal with breaches of the ceasefire, said Lieutenant Mark Kelley, a crewman Australian member of the Commonwealth ceasefire monitoring force.

"The Rhodesians seem very pleased with the number of guerrillas who have gone to assembly areas," Lieutenant Kelley said. "Although there are some guerrillas still operating around here, most of them seem to have agreed to go along with the ceasefire".

It was largely because the assembly operation had gone as well as it did that Lieutenant Kelley felt the Rhodesians were no longer pressing to be let loose to deal with guerrillas.

Lord Soames, the Governor, has approved the deployment of security forces to assist the police to deal with guerrillas who remain operational. "When we got here

two weeks ago the Rhodesians were expecting to go out on a big mopping up operation. But not now. They are challenging us to squash and basketball instead".

Evidence of the flexible approach being adopted by the security forces and the Commonwealth monitoring team came at the weekend when a group of 68 guerrillas turned up at a local police station and demanded to be taken to an assembly point.

"The Rhodesians cannot take any action without knowing it," Lieutenant Kelley said. "In fact they make no attempt to hide anything from us. They are very frank and friendly with us."

Since the monitoring force arrived there just before Christmas there have been only two occasions when the Army was called out in support of the police, and both happened before the past two weeks, were cutting the

grass and weeding the camp's flower beds.

Captain Daly, assisted by two Australian and two British soldiers, is responsible for monitoring all security force actions in the Bindura joint operational command area—a region that takes in former Patriotic Front strongholds in the Chivhu and Madziwa tribal trust lands and nearby assembly area.

According to the local police commander in Bindura there are still about 60 guerrillas operating in his area. Last week they backed to defend the chief of a nearby protected village. During the weekend there was a shooting incident between the guerrillas and a police patrol which had been sent in pursuit of them.

At another protected village farther to the north about 40 guerrillas opened fire on 10 black guards who were assigned to protect the village. They eventually left after a police support unit arrived on the scene.

A week ago police reinforcements had to be sent to a local protected village to sort out an incident between some guerrillas and black guards. The matter was eventually resolved by flying in a Patriotic Front liaison officer from Salisbury who persuaded the guerrillas to report to a nearby assembly area.

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Kabul casts shadow over Aswan summit

From Christopher Walker

Aswan, Jan 7

The ninth summit meeting between President Sadat of Egypt and Mr Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, opened here tonight with strong signs that negotiations about the peace process would be overshadowed by events elsewhere in the Middle East.

The first meeting between the two leaders lasted for an hour and was devoted to regional matters, particularly the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the recent turmoil in Iran. No mention was made about bilateral Egyptian-Israeli issues on which there is wide disagreement.

After the talks, an Israeli spokesman expressed satisfaction. He said that Mr Begin and President Sadat had reached common ground on their mutual interests.

Mr Begin later spoke out strongly against the Soviet invasion which he described as "naked aggression".

The Soviet action in Afghanistan and the continuing turmoil in Iran are high on the agenda for detailed discussion but there was no immediate indication that any strategic cooperation would emerge beyond joint expressions of concern.

Although an unusually large party of Mr Begin's four-day visit to Upper Egypt will be taken up by visits to historic sites, the summit is regarded as crucial because of its timing. It comes less than three weeks before Israel is due to complete its imminent withdrawal from 70 per cent of the Sinai peninsula and less than two months before the two countries are due to exchange ambassadors.

Dr Butros Ghali, Egypt's Deputy Foreign Minister, said before tonight's meeting that he hoped the recent turmoil in the region would convince Israel that its real interests lay in achieving a comprehensive peace—and this could be reached only by meeting Palestinian aspirations.

The concern felt by both leaders about the Soviet threat will provide a superficial gloss of unity to the meeting, but unless there is a dramatic change of position the talks have little hope of solving many of the outstanding disagreements.

One question to be answered is the extent to which the peace treaty will lead to a new military axis in the region. Already both leaders have indicated their willingness to provide military assistance to America in any future efforts to counter Russian influence in the Middle East.

The vote gave Mexico 133 votes and Cuba 3, making Mexico the fifteenth member of the Security Council for a two-year period.

Pressure was increasing in

the General Assembly to elect

a new member of the Security Council before the council voted on a resolution dealing with economic sanctions against Iran and Soviet involvement in Afghanistan.

Disputed seat in Security Council goes to Mexico

From Richard Hughes

Hongkong, Jan 7

The Baritsu Chapter of the Baker Street Irregulars, the first and only Sherlock Holmes society in the Far East celebrated the master's 126th birthday at a happy but respectful dinner last night.

It was attended by Japanese and Chinese as well as British, American and Australian Holmes fanciers. A standing ovation was given to Dr Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, who came to Washington yesterday to hear about his recent trip to Iran.

In Tabriz demonstrators attacked and set fire to the offices of one of the town's Islamic committees after fighting between rival supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Sharif-Masdi.

Eight foreign journalists were confined to their hotel and then expelled from the city on the orders of the local Islamic Revolutionary Court.

Ayatollah Khomeini has cancelled all appointments for two weeks from January 12 because of tiredness, his office in Tehran said today.

In the Kurdish town of Sanandaji tension mounted as

AFGHANISTAN

Worried President Zia prepares public for shock of accepting US military aid

From Ian Murray

Islamabad, Jan 7

The Pakistan Government is busy preparing the way to accept American military aid. It believes this is the only way to counter the threat posed by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

For the second day running the Cabinet has been in full session here on the problem, hearing among other things reports from its ambassadors in Moscow and Kabul, who flew home specially to attend the meeting.

It shows how worried and frightened President Zia ul Haq has become that he can even think of accepting any American aid. Until now he has sought to march down the road of Islamic independence and has been perhaps the only real international supporter of Ayatollah Khomeini.

Clearly he now believes the Soviet Union is seeking to do in Central Asia what it did in South-East Asia, and he thinks

his country is the next domino intended to fall.

That view seems to be shared by his countrymen. Pakistan is winning an international hockey tournament in Karachi hands down, with Britain coming in a poor last. But even trouncing Australia 7-1 does not seem to have lifted us gloom.

Taxi-drivers, hall porters, journalists and Government spokesmen are all concentrating on Afghanistan. "It is bad", they say. "What ever can we do?"

President Zia seems to have decided the only thing he can do is welcome yesterday's despised Americans as tomorrow's friends. Thus the *Pakistan Times*, the mouthpiece of his views, is continuing a series of long articles seeking to help the people to accept an idea that was anathema only a month ago.

"In national emergencies", says today's article, "You should forget the rest of the world. You should not stand

on ceremony in accepting the hand of help from one who has either been unfair to you in the past or who does not currently happen to be on the same wavelength with a friend of yours."

This reference to Iran shows that the President realises that turning to America could cut him off from the Islamic brotherhood.

Thus the article argues that while America is only offering help out of self-interest, "only a superpower response can prove an deterrent. Nothing short of a Sino-American identity with Pakistan can prevently meet the threat of the Soviet Union."

The idea that most of the world is opposed to the Soviet action is driven home in radio and television news programmes as lists of disapproving countries are recited off.

Today's Cabinet meeting discounted the idea that Pakistan itself was on the point of being

US-Chinese discussions on aid to Pakistan

Peking, Jan 7.—Mr Harold Brown, the United States Defense Secretary, had seven hours of talks with Chinese officials today, concentrating on the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its implications for Asia and the world, American officials said.

They said both sides agreed that the situation in Afghanistan had revealed something of Moscow's wider world ambitions.

Mr Brown and the Chinese had discussed what could be done for Afghanistan's neighbour, Pakistan, and for South-West Asia generally. More concrete details on this would be worked out in the next two days.

Mr Brown, who arrived in Peking on Saturday, spent most of his time today with Mr Geng Biao, Vice-Premier, who is also general secretary of the Communist Party's military commission. He lunched with Mr Huang Huai, the Foreign Minister.

Mr Brown is due to meet Mr Deng Xiaoping, the senior Vice-Premier, tomorrow and Chairman Hua Guofeng on Wednesday. Mr Deng told Egyptian journalists today that he intended to discuss the strengthening of Sino-American relations and the Afghanistan rebels with weapons and arms.

Shouting "God is great", they distributed leaflets in which they asked the Government to open an office for youths volunteering to fight in Afghanistan and to dispatch them there immediately. The students, however, opposed Egypt's declared readiness to give facilities to the United States to check the Soviet military intervention.

The leaflets called for a rupture of all relations with the Soviet Union and other communist countries.—Reuter.



Mr Babrak Karmal, the Afghanistan leader, addressing a press conference for Afghan and foreign journalists in Kabul.

France takes a cautious view

From Charles Hargrove

Paris, Jan 7

France is ready to go to almost any length to preserve the policy of détente, despite the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. This much was clear from the statements of M. Jean François-Poncer, the Foreign Minister, in the course of the Club de la Presse programme with journalists last night on Europe's No 1 radio station.

The French Government is attempting to clear a difficult course in this affair between its traditional hostility to a policy of power blocks, and its attachment to Western solidarity. M. François-Poncer admitted that the Soviet intervention was a "serious blow to détente".

"We intend to have talks with Russia which will show that we are deeply attached to détente, but without weakness and indulgence, and we hope Russia will adjust her behaviour", he said.

Although he was pressed by the journalists taking part in the debate, M. François-Poncer avoided expressing a condemnation of Soviet action.

This prompts the independent newspaper *Le Quotidien de Paris* to say that everyone

agrees détente is a precious thing. "But one must measure the price to be paid to preserve it. Should one sacrifice to it, honour, the freedom of a people, loyalty to elementary principles of solidarity?"

M. Bernard Pons, the secretary-general of the Gaullist Rassemblement, today in a sharply critical statement on the Foreign Minister's remarks, said that "détente never consisted in allowing it to serve as a screen for hegemonic undertakings. France can only assert her independence fully by being the first to defend the free self-determination of peoples."

Le Monde says that the deeper reason for French caution is the conviction that Russia will become bogged down militarily in Afghanistan in the same way as the Americans did in Vietnam.

Greek Premier condemns talk of Olympic ban

From Mario Modiano

Athens, Jan 7

The prospect of the Olympic Games in Moscow being boycotted in retaliation for the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, was condemned by Mr Constantine Karamanlis, the Greek Prime Minister, who renewed his proposal that the Games should be held permanently in Greece again.

Mr Karamanlis was speaking today at a ceremony to lay the foundation stone of an Olympic stadium at Kalogreza, on the outskirts of Athens. It will accommodate 80,000 spectators and is expected to cost £13m.

The Greeks felt it as a national and humanitarian duty to strive for the survival of the Olympic Games.

EEC expected to support America on grain embargo

From Michael Hornby

Brussels, Jan 7

The EEC is expected to give the United States an assurance this week that the community will not undermine the partial embargo by America on the sale of feed-grain to the Soviet Union by making its own stocks of surplus cereals available to the Russians.

In a related move, the European Commission may decide at its regular weekly session on Wednesday to restrict cut-price sales of surplus butter and sugar to the Soviet Union, which in recent years has been a significant market for the Community's unwanted produce.

The EEC announced today that it had accepted an invitation

from the Americans to attend a meeting of the chief grain exporting countries to be held in Washington on Saturday. The Community will be represented by M. Claude Villain, the Director-General for Agriculture.

The purpose of the meeting is to ensure that the Russians will not be able to buy elsewhere the 17 million tonnes of grain which President Carter has decided to deny them in retaliation for the action in Afghanistan.

In normal circumstances the Soviet Union is not a big buyer of grain from the EEC. Last year its purchases did not exceed 200,000 tonnes of barley, according to European Commission sources.

Protests by students in Alexandria

Alexandria, Jan 7.—About 2,000 students demonstrated here today against Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and called on the Egyptian Government to provide Afghan rebels with weapons and arms.

The event in Afghanistan is by no means an isolated case but a component of the global strategy of Soviet hegemonism", Mr Deng said. "It is of the same nature as the Soviet actions in the Middle East and its military aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea through Vietnam."

Tomorrow, the two sides will break up into special groups to discuss the sharing of technology, exchanges of military personnel, arms control and the state of the world strategic balance.—Reuter.

Legal appointments

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also on page 18

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There are up to 3 vacancies to be filled. Written details and application forms may be obtained from the Senate of the Inns of Court and the Bar, from the Law Society's Appointments Registry, from the Parliamentary Counsel Office, 33 Whitehall, London S.W.1 (01-273 4468), or from the Civil Service Commission, Almoner Link, Basingstoke, Hants, RG21 1JB (telephone Basingstoke 86351); answering service operates outside office hours). Any enquiries should be made to the Parliamentary Counsel Office. The closing date is 4 February, 1980. Please quote ref. G/5295/1.

OVERSEAS

Homicide case against Ford poses threat to all manufacturers

From Michael Leayman
New York, Jan 7

The Ford Motor Company faces a charge of homicide because of alleged defects in one of its cars in a unique court case which opened in Indiana today.

The indictment was brought by a grand jury after three young women were killed when the 1973 Ford Pinto in which they were travelling was struck in the rear by another car and burst into flames.

The accident happened in August, 1978, since when Ford has made energetic legal efforts to have the charge dismissed. In most states corporations cannot be charged with criminal acts, but Indiana introduced a law in 1976 which allows it.

One of Ford's arguments was that the car was built in 1973 and the company could not be charged until the law was passed four years later. But last February a court ruled that any offence would be now in the alleged defect in design but in the contention that Ford allowed Pintos to stay on the road knowing they were dangerous.

Newspapers and television are focusing attention on the case because it could set an important precedent. If the verdict goes against Ford, manufacturers will face the risk of criminal as well as civil prosecution if their products prove faulty. That is why there is likely to be an appeal, whatever the jury decides.

Many civil lawsuits have been brought against Ford in connection with Pintos built before

tween 1971 and 1976. Critics of the small "compact" car claim that the fuel-hank is positioned too near the back, making it liable to catch fire when struck from behind.

For its defence Ford has engaged Mr James Neal, who was one of the Government's prosecutors in the Watergate affair.

The main element in Mr Cosenito's case is the allegation that Ford executives knew that the Pinto was unsafe but were unwilling to spend extra money in modifying it. He will produce documents seeking to show that they knowingly delayed adding an additional safety feature which would have cost \$8 (£4) per car.

In the summer of 1978 Ford recalled 1,500,000 Pintos built between 1971 and 1976 for modifications to the fuel tank, after the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration issued a report suggesting they were dangerous.

Ford said it did not agree with the findings but had undertaken the recall to allay public concern. Pintos built since 1976 have a different fuel-tank design on safety grounds.

The trial is taking place at Wimmac, a town in northern Indiana whose population of 2,400 have never before been the object of national attention.

The case was moved to Wimmac at the request of Ford, which argued that an impartial jury could not be found in the county where the accident took place.

Somalia critically short of aid

Ethiopia war creates 1,000 refugees a day

From Michael Hughes
of Reuters
Mogadishu, Jan 7

Impoverished Somalia in the Horn of Africa has the worst refugee problem in the world. More than a quarter of its population is made up of ragged and hungry refugees from neighbouring Ethiopia.

Every day 1,000 more homeless men, women and children swell the tide, according to official figures. Government and United Nations officials estimate the number of refugees at 1,200,000.

Mr Steffan Bodenham, the representative here of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) said: "This is the largest number of refugees in any one country in the world. It is impossible for Somalia to absorb this number without very substantial international assistance."

The refugees are from the ethnically Somali regions of eastern Ethiopia, the scene of a long guerrilla war.

The number of refugees reaching Somalia has increased sharply in the past eight months, and Somali officials and guerrilla leaders say the Ethiopians, with Cuban and Russian backing, are trying to drive all ethnic Somalis from the Ogaden, Bale and Sidamo regions. Ethnic Somalis are regarded as friendly to the guerrillas.

Western diplomats here say there have been increased air and ground attacks by Ethiopian forces in the eastern region. Ethiopia, with the aid of about 17,000 Cubans and Soviet weapons, defeated Somalia in the Ogaden war of 1977 and early 1978. Mutual hostility and suspicion still exists.

Almost half a million refugees are living in 21 camps in Somalia and an estimated 700,000 are outside the camps. Relatively affluent Somalis have refugees allocated to them by the authorities.

One senior civil servant has an old couple and their two adult children living with him in his four-roomed house outside Mogadishu. "I have to pay their food and medical bills, but I cannot turn them away, they are my brothers," he said.

10 jailed after protest in the Seychelles

From Our Correspondent
Nairobi, Jan 7

Nine young men and one young woman have been sent to prison in Victoria, the Seychelles capital, for disturbances during demonstrations which took place last October in protest against plans for a national youth service in the Seychelles.

Sentences ranging from one year to four years were imposed by Mr Earle Secon, the chief justice. Another youth was remanded for evidence of his age before being sentenced while yet another was acquitted. In a further case the charges were withdrawn.

In a two-hour judgment, the judge said students who had staged demonstrations were accused by the outgoing Cabinet of having swung to the right, favoured the inclusion of the two PDC members in the new ruling junta whose composition could be announced later today.

The junta would therefore include Colonel Adolfo Majano and Colonel Abdul Gutierrez, both members of the previous junta. Senior Hifrezi, Senator Morales and a third civilian member who would represent the progressive wing—Agence France-Presse.

SPORT

Football

Form is on Liverpool's side as they go out to settle a score

By Norman Fox
Football Correspondent

As if having a sharp sense of the dramatic, the fates paired Nottingham Forest and Liverpool in yesterday's FA Cup fourth-round draw. The European champions and the domestic champions seem to have a magnetic attraction over each other in cup competition, it is Liverpool who have a score to settle on January 26.

There is not much profit in dwelling on Forest's recent problems in the league nor in Liverpool's position as favourites for the FA Cup. The relevant and perhaps decisive influences will surely be Forest's psychological factor and Liverpool's desire to win the League Cup in November.

Forest beat West Bromwich

have no serious chance of catching Liverpool in the championship, they are not a broken side. Their third round on Saturday hinted at restored ambition, with Bowles giving them more midfield ideas.

The Forest-Liverpool tie is one of three all-first division matches, the others being Bristol City v Ipswich Town and Wolverhampton Wanderers v Norwich City, but there is the possibility of a fourth if the holders, Arsenal, overcome Cardiff City in a replay at Highbury tonight. They would then play Brighton, whom they knocked out of the League Cup in November.

Forest also beat them in the 1978 League Cup Final. More recently, the City Ground match in September

before they confront each other in the FA Cup, they will play the first leg of the Football League Cup semi-final at Nottingham next week and they are in a league match on Saturday 16, although that is the day of the fifth round of the FA Cup, when one or other will be otherwise engaged.

Whoever will be drawn against the cup favourites and, had they been drawn against anyone else, they would have had few worries. Now their hopes of achieving the double are less assured.

On the face of it, Liverpool are in such good form that this time they could change the theme of the series but their attitude on the day will be crucial.

They will look seriously at the pace of Forest's direct football and their own simplicity of movement is shared by a Forest team now looking for some proof that, while they may

have not yet certain of places in the fourth round, there is more than a glimmer of hope.

Orient tomorrow in East London

is a tie with West Bromwich Albion or West Ham United on their own ground in Cheshire.

Harlow, who have forced Leicestershire to replay at their sports

ground at Wembley.

For the surviving non-league

clubs, not yet certain of places in

the fourth round, there is more

than a glimmer of hope.

Swindon Town's exploits since

they beat Arsenal in the League

Cup final of 1969. They are in

such semi-final round of that

competition this weekend, having

now they could fulfil the dream

of every comparatively small club

by playing at home to Manchester United, last season's losing

team at Wembley.

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For the surviving non-league

clubs, not yet certain of places in

the fourth round, there is more

than a glimmer of hope.

Swindon Town's exploits since

they beat Arsenal in the League

Cup final of 1969. They are in

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SPORT

Cricket

Brearley has a special word of praise for Randall and Gower

From John Woodcock
Cricket Correspondent
Sydney, Jan 7

A touring captain's rest-day press conferences are usually well attended. Mike Brearley's are no exception. He never wastes an answer and seldom, whenever the questioner, challenges a question.

What was him about this second Test match? "It's the way the pitch changed during the day yesterday's play, until by evening the ball was doing very little," Brearley said. "It should be very close." With all their second-innings wickets in hand Australia needed another 191 runs to win.

Brearley paid a special tribute today to Randall, who went in yesterday when Australia had just 100 and played and missed less often than anyone. Gower's described as "a marvellous innings in spite of the number of times he was beaten. But he took his side on a whole

batted pretty well in the match, which I think is a fair commentary on the conditions. In his nine Test matches in Australia—the centenary Test of 1977, the last Test matches here last winter and now the two this winter—Brearley has yet to play in a "real better," which is the cricketer's term for a really good bowling pitch.

On the other hand the pitches for the first two Tests have been excellent. This is one of the reasons why Boycott has been playing with such unaccustomed freedom. Boycott, by the way, was not on the field yesterday, having come up 40 minutes for which Australia batted. He has been complimenting of a stiff

neck so stiff that he was reluctant to play in the match. He looked to be little enough handicapped, however, in England's second innings, when Pescos got one to the max and there is nothing much the master bowler can do to find the next good batting pitch.

Having been taken to task by Brearley, and also in several newspaper editorials and correspondence columns, the Sydney crowd has behaved much better in this match. Another reason for that will be that Test cricket attracts a different type of spectator from many of those who make up a audience of themselves at night matches. This has also been an absorbing match to watch—and again the crowds have been well below expectations. Although at the start of each of the last two days Australia have appeared to have England on the ropes, they turned up on Saturday and 2426 on Sunday. These are disappointing figures by Sydney standards.

Referring to this morning's

Sydney Morning Herald to the fact that Greg Chappell gave Biggs only one over in England's two innings of the present match "the great writer" of "thousands of words" of Australian cricket was abundantly waiting to hear one reason to indicate his (Chappell's) incredible lack of vision. So flatly was Biggs ignored that one might have been excused for thinking he had been exonerated for thinking that will be to have a heart for the spinner. In leaving so much grass on their Test pitches, for fear of their breaking up, they are playing into the seam bowler's O'Reilly's advocacy of Australian spinners is always good reading.

Though concerned about the safety of his players, Brearley is philosophical about the treatment he himself receives from Australian crowds. He was amused when, before a ball had been bowled on the first day, a crowd of 10,000 people at the WACA Ground, Perth, were cheering him on a cry of "We'll come over here Brearley and we'll have some cans of beer at you!" When he was out yesterday, from the members' stand came a demand to release the captain is something referred to by his players, though with affection, as the Ayatollah. Australian crowds are not as subtle as they used to be, but if you listen for long enough you can usually get a laugh. "Leave our sites alone."

No we'll

Indian tour may still take place

New Delhi, Jan 7.—India's cricket tour of the Caribbean later this year might still take place if the Indian Government give their approval. G. Ahmed, secretary of the Indian cricket control board, said today.

He told reporters that the board had asked the Government to clear foreign exchange for expenses. Clearance was necessary because the West Indies cricket control board was unable to pay the guarantee money of about £18,000 per Test.

India last week cabled the West Indian board calling off the March-April tour for "unavoidable" reasons.

In Dacca, about 10,000 people staged a demonstration against a visiting Pakistani cricket team late yesterday following the cancellation of the first Bangladesh-Pakistan Test match since Bangladesh broke away from Pakistan eight years ago.

Police set tear gas and baton charges to bring up a disturbance in front of a Dacca hotel where the Pakistanis were staying during a rally staged by the country's leading opposition party.

Meanwhile in Karachi, the Pakistani pace bowler, Sarfaraz Nawaz, has criticised his country's cricket team captain Asif Iqbal, the "utter failure" on the Indian tour. "Even a mediocre captain could have earned victory for Pakistan in the Delhi Test last month," he added. —Agencies.

However, the West Indies re-

stored some prestige through the efforts of King, David Murray, Derek Parry and Garner, who availed an innings defeat. King scored his 92 off 118 balls and hit 12 fours and a six. He was effectively supported by Murray, who made 22, 41 and 62.

The opening batsmen, Graeme Wood, 44, and Greg Chappell, 44, put Western Australia well on the way to success with a partnership of 52 before Rob Langer and Craig Sargeant finished the job.

WEST INDIANS: First Innings, 169-2. Alderman, 2; Second Innings, 111-2. Rowe, 2; Wright, 2; Michael, 11; Kallis, 1; Maloney, 1; Marshall, 1; Malone, 1; Anderson, 1; King, 1; Alderman, 1; Dearden, 1; Doherty, 1; Parry, 1; Alderman, 1; Garner, 1; Not Out, 1; Mann, 1; Extras (1 lb, 7 oz), 2. w. 7. Total, 315. Fall of Wickets: 1-30, 2-83, 3-88, 4-103, 5-172.

BOWLING: Alderman, 24-5-86; Malone, 20-5-82; King, 10-5-82; Michael, 10-5-82; Wood, 10-5-82; Chappell, 10-5-82; Doherty, 10-5-82; Parry, 10-5-82; Alderman, 10-5-82; Garner, 10-5-82; Extras (1 lb, 7 oz), 2. w. 7. Total, 183. Fall of Wickets: 1-67, 2-67, 3-77, 4-87, 5-97, 6-107, 7-117.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA: First Innings, 169-2. Alderman, 2; Second Innings, 111-2. Rowe, 2; Wright, 2; Michael, 11; King, 1; Alderman, 1; Dearden, 1; Doherty, 1; Parry, 1; Alderman, 1; Garner, 1; Not Out, 1; Mann, 1; Extras (1 lb, 7 oz), 2. w. 7. Total, 315. Fall of Wickets: 1-30, 2-83, 3-88, 4-103, 5-172.

BOWLING: Chappell, 4-1-19; Wood, 4-1-19; Parry, 4-1-19; Alderman, 4-1-19; Garner, 4-1-19; Malone, 4-1-19; Extras (1 lb, 7 oz), 2. w. 7. Total, 183. Fall of Wickets: 1-67, 2-67, 3-77, 4-87, 5-97, 6-107, 7-117.

The West Indians resumed at 74 for three and plunged into deeper trouble by losing three more wickets in the first 37 minutes to slump to 183 for six. Malcolm Marshall, the right-winger, was struck in the slips off Terry Alderman, and Alister Kallis, and Lloyd and Lloyd were both bowled by swinging deliveries from Mick Malone.

The West Indies re-

Skiing

Miss Nadig draws level

Froenten, West Germany, Jan 7.—Marie-Thérèse Nadig, of Switzerland, sped to her fourth downhill victory of the season today to pull level with Annemarie Moser, the world champion, in the World Cup standings.

The Swiss girl was second to Mrs Moser yesterday down the same course which was made slower today by a fine layer of powder snow. She won from Mrs Moser's sister, Cornelia Proli, (Switzerland), 1-21.59; 3. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 4. Mrs Moser, 1-21.71; 5. Mrs Moser, 1-21.71; 6. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 7. Mrs Moser, 1-21.71; 8. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 9. Mrs Moser, 1-21.71; 10. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 11. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 12. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 13. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 14. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 15. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 16. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 17. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 18. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 19. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 20. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 21. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 22. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 23. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 24. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 25. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 26. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 27. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 28. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 29. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 30. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 31. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 32. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 33. Miss Proli, 1-21.71; 34. Miss Nadig, 1-21.71; 35. 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Bernard Levin looks at the implications following the Indian election

The return of Gandhi and Son: what now?

The Indian election results, though not complete as I write, are already sufficiently clear to make heavy the hearts of those everywhere who love India and freedom, honesty and decency in public life, who value, in India as elsewhere, realism in seeing the truth and courage in speaking it, and who believe that it is not necessary for a voter to be well-fed or even literate to distinguish between democracy and tyranny, and still less between right and wrong. All those ideals and beliefs have been struck a grievous blow by the decision of free Indian voters to restore to power a ruthless, undemocratic, mendacious and criminal leader, together with her gangster son and their quidnunc entourage of Bansi Lal and the like.

No doubt there was intimidation during the campaign; no doubt there were irregularities at the polls; no doubt there was a good deal of quiet double-crossing by politicians ostensibly opposed to her yet anxious to swim with the tide. But when all this has been said, and all allowances made, the result is that in a genuinely democratic election, the Indian people chose to restore to power the scoundrels whom they had so rightly ejected in March 1977.

There are reasons, of course, for their decision; I shall come

I have no doubt
that Mrs Gandhi
will abuse the
power she has
now been given

the endorsement of the
people?

I think how could I help thinking?—of the idea that her roadies in this country will now be feeling, the Michael Footes and Eldon Griffiths and Peter Shores, and of all the others who will shortly be telling us that Mrs Gandhi has once again made the trains run on time.

"They are ringing their bells; soon they will be ringing their hands." No doubt; but I am the very last man to want to say "I told you so" to Jayaprakash Narayan, did not live to see his countrymen vote. Mrs Gandhi back into office, for it would surely have broken that great heart, and

what would have broken it is what makes mine heavy—not that she is back in power, but that she got there with the votes of a free people in a free election.

There are, as I say, reasons. Chief among them was the inability of the men in charge of the precarious Janata coalition to hold together in the face of a foe whose evil intentions were surely far more important than anything which divided her opponents. Second was the personal ambitions so damagingly pursued by those who should have sunk those ambitions in the common cause, and who did, after all, do precisely that to fight the 1977 election. ("J.P." was the architect of the Janata coalition on that occasion. Could he, had he lived, have done it again? It is not impossible.)

Some would put Morarji Desai next, though I think he has been harshly judged; indeed misjudged. It was not his fault that his chief political allies frittered away the months in quarrelling and scrambling for personal power, nor was it for want of warnings from him that they would not stop doing so long enough to hear the oncoming roar of the electoral tide.

Disillusionment was inevitable. Why should the Indian voters follow men who could not make up their own minds to say what they wanted, let alone persuade each other to agree on the same wants? In these circumstances, the appeal of a ruthless and single-minded politician who knew exactly what she wanted is easy to understand. And, of course, there was the full weight of an exceptionally heavy example of that most modern of political avalanches, the revolution awakened expectations.

I sometimes think that Pandora should be the patron saint of politicians today (if indeed she hasn't been appointed to the post already). The Indian voters who threw out Mrs Gandhi and Son in March 1977, got it firmly into their heads that those who succeeded to government were able, and therefore about, to usher in heaven upon earth. As a matter of fact, Mr Desai and his government did remarkably well in the manner of improving India's condition; but of course all they could do was to alleviate the problems, and too many powers, it has long been clear, excepted the problems to be swept away altogether.

If that reminds you of conditions nearer home, I am not at all surprised. The difference, however, between the expectations aroused by Morarji Desai and those awakened by Wilson, Callaghan and Healey, is that Morarji never claimed to be able to make figs grow

upon thorns, whereas our Labour Party leaders, almost to the last moment they were in office, and again now that they are in Opposition, have constantly insisted that eating the seed corn will banish hunger for ever, and leave no insoluble problems around next year's harvest.

Both aroused expectations that they could not possibly be satisfied. But Janata did so by the very fact of their election and no more; Labour did it knowing what dragon's teeth they were sowing, and they are at it again now. Perhaps it is rather insular of me to see our problems mirrored in India's, but I cannot help it, and anyway it helps to take my mind off my friends and their grief and their peril. I have no doubt that Mrs Gandhi will abuse the power she has now been given, and that she has never had the slightest intention of refraining from such abuse of it, though I certainly expect her to do it in a manner less gross than she employed last time. As for her son, I have no doubt that Sanjay Gandhi, now that his mother will make haste to relieve him of all the legal penalties and charges that have followed from his crimes (as, of course, he is removed), will revert to his career of corruption and intimidation.

I have also no doubt that sooner or later, the voters of India will regret what they have done. I pray that by then it will still not be too late for them to undo it.

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Moscow seems to have learnt nothing from earlier imperial adventures in Afghanistan

Is the Soviet Union opening a new round in the Great Game?

History is constantly stealing up on us and revealing our total unpreparedness for events. This new year we are faced with the dreadful coincidence of one of the players in Kipling's Great Game stumbling down the same path taken by Britain exactly a century ago, Afghanistan? Why should faint memories of an imperial involvement in a far-off country concern us in our present reduced circumstances? Soviet Russia, in this era of the nuclear arms race, has been unable to profit from Britain's experience in Afghanistan.

The parallels with the Great Game are striking: give or take some changes of emphasis. The murder of envoys, the playing off of one nationalist leader against another, and the remorseless harrying and sometimes total destruction of the invading force by fanatical tribesmen recur.

In the opening days of 1880 an expeditionary force of the Indian army was holding its own with difficulty in the capital, Kabul, and in garrisons scattered through the mountainous south-central part of one of the most inhospitable countries in Asia. It was committed to the pursuit of the so-called "forward" policy of the now-tide of British imperialism. Which of course meant a reaction to someone else's imperialism. Russia's. Russia had been far too active in advancing its frontiers in Central Asia for the peace of minds of the home government or its representatives in India.

India now lay at the end of a chain of staging posts and of a canal in which Disraeli had bought Britain a controlling interest. Any threat to any part of the empire was a threat to the whole. Britain was bound to react; therefore, to Russia's advance on Constantinople in the Russo-Turkish war. Sabres were rattled: a music hall song was on all lips: "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do," and Disraeli fired a shot across Russia's bows by dispatching 5,000 Indian troops to Malta and seizing Cyprus as a military base to protect the Canal.

At this point the Russians shuffled the deck for a hand



Royal Artillery saving the guns at Maiwand, 1880 (after a painting by R. Caton Woodville). Reproduced by courtesy of the National Army Museum.

its political officer, Major Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, tried to enter Afghanistan at the border post of Jamrud.

They were politely rejected but Lytton had what he considered to be his *cæsus belli*. A veteran of Indian frontier warfare observed: "We have entered into conflict with a race of tigers. Only by ruling them with a rod of iron will they ever give in."

Lytton had grossly underestimated the difficulty of the task. No short, sharp shock to the natives, this, but a slow, costly campaign of conquest.

The total bill for the first year alone was £950,000; thousands of pack animals died hauling supplies in the mountains (which caused the British finally to extend the railway up to the frontier) and extra troops had to be rushed out from Britain to make good the drain on the Indian forces.

The Viceroy forced his Mission on the Afghans, which four months later was attacked by fanatics "high" on the effects of Ramadan, and all were killed. The resulting full-scale military intervention designed to impose direct British rule met with one of the most humiliating reverses to European arms in the whole history of imperialism.

Fortunately the crisis produced the right commander; instead of blunderheads like those

who had lost the previous expedition, skilled professionals like Sir Donald Stewart, Sam Browne (of belt fame) and Frederick Roberts were selected.

Roberts, "Our Bob," was a stern disciplinarian but came to be loved by his men for he cared for them materially and gave them victories with few casualties. He proved to be the only leader who could get the Afghans out of their fastnesses in their thousands near by. The demoralized garrison rushed out to greet their deliverers with cooked breakfast and were told by Bobs to prepare themselves for instant battle with the victors of Maiwand, who were swarming in their thousands near by. The next day the Highlanders and Gurkhas attacked and drove back the besiegers at point of bayonet.

When the news reached Britain, Juggaists, who had had their ardour dampened by depressing dispatch after dispatch, went wild with joy. Gladstone was even prevailed upon to grant Roberts a title which, of course, he took from the crowning mercy of Kandahar.

This was just as well as the Afghans had mauled the British at Maiwand, incited by their imams, one of whom, a 90-year-old Ayatollah was carried on his bed from village to village preaching the Jihad against the *ferangi*. Colours and guns were lost and imperial pride and nerves took a terrible beating.

Roberts then gained an unexpected victory and a great reputation. He marched a picked force of 10,000 men unencumbered by wheeled transport and carrying only pack howitzers the 280 miles from Kabul to the besieged city of Kandahar. The march was hailed as "simply the most daring and brilliant feat of arms performed by a British general since the Peninsular War."

The Russians noted later: "In the face of unfavourable military circumstances the English were obliged to put forward all their strength in order to attain merely relative success over the weak Afghans."

And perhaps the last word should be Roberts, who wrote:

"It may not be very flattering to our amour propre but I feel sure I am right when I say that the less the Afghans see of us, the less they dislike us."

"Should the Russians attempt to conquer Afghanistan we should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interest if we avoid all interference with them."

John Crossland

Ulster: trapped between patriotism and politics

There is a close parallel between the resignation of Mr Jack Lynch as the Irish Republic's Taoiseach and that of Captain Terence O'Neill as Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 10 years before.

In each case you had a Prime Minister of a peaceable disposition under pressure from London to take measures which, while accepted by the majority of the population and even of his party's voters, nevertheless dismayed his party's activists. Gradually the moral authority of both men declined and in the end they resigned.

Every polity, if it is to function as a democracy, must be built around an idea. It needs a widely-shared patriotism to motivate its administration and security force. The trouble with the two Irish states is that their patriotism does not march with their populations.

The only possible patriotism for Northern Ireland is political Protestantism for the area's only distinguishing characteristic is that it is the part of Ireland with a Protestant majority.

Its preference for the United Kingdom in referendums will not serve as an effective patriotic bond for Ulster, but it does bind the province to the rest of the island. The only possible patriotism for Northern Ireland is political Protestantism for the area's only distinguishing characteristic is that it is the part of Ireland with a Protestant majority.

The fact that Northern Ireland is not integrated with the mainland but has its own governmental institutions is a defeat for Unionism. Indeed genuine unionism is no longer qualified than Irish nationalism to act as Northern Ireland's patriotism; for both Unionism and Irish nationalism do not want the areas to exist as a separate unit.

If there existed in Northern Ireland a genuine non-sectarian regional patriotism inside the larger UK patriotism devolution might work; but such a patriotic movement manifestly does not exist.

The only "Unionist" parties which command mass acceptance are specifically Protestant ones. Northern Ireland must speak with a Protestant voice, or not speak at all.

Because of this, Britain has been forced to make sure that it speaks as little as possible; and the less they dislike us,

"Should the Russians attempt to conquer Afghanistan we should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interest if we avoid all interference with them."

John Crossland

and the Orange Order, all political coherence in Northern Ireland would disappear.

The North's patriotism does not embrace all its population; that of the South spreads beyond its borders. The only distinguishing feature of the 26 counties is that it is the Catholic area of Ireland; but while there is a heavy Catholic influence on the state, it is clear that its population shrinks from Catholicism as a political definition and prefers to see itself as Irish.

A Dublin Government which espouses the all-Ireland ideal and acquiesces in the border as the permanent boundary of the state would have to treat the people of Antrim and Armagh and the rest as foreigners. It would by that fact have lost the right to call itself Irish: it could not survive.

In practice, Dublin governments are schizophrenic. They can neither abandon the all-Ireland aim nor take practical steps to realize it. They may see all Irishmen as potential citizens, but in practice they attend to the needs of the 26-county Irish, who vote them into office. Having learnt over the years to survive and thrive in 26-county politics, Southern parties despite the airy rhetoric, will be slow to move towards an all-Ireland state, in whose politics they might not prosper, or even exist.

The objection will be made that if Britain adopted such a policy, there would be Protestant violence; but this is valid, only emphasizes the dilemma, since it implies that, while putting to put down actual Republican violence, Britain is at the same time the prisoner of potential Protestant violence. And it may not be valid.

It is hard to keep terrorist campaigns going without some kind of acceptable aim. Without its identification with Irish nationalism, the IRA could not continue.

Political Protestants get derisory votes once they abandon the Union and campaign for UDI; may it not be that, if a situation were created where political Protestants could no longer pose, as they currently do, as the defenders of the Union the threat of Protestant violence would diminish, not increase.

But the time for "solutions" is hardly ripe. The need is for new perceptions, most importantly of the need to disassociate Unionism from Protestant politics. The old perceptions are manifestly leading nowhere; once they are changed, we can hope that effective policies will emerge.

Hugh Munro

LONDON DIARY

During my inquiries on the latter, I met Mrs Liliane Edwards, a Frenchwoman married to an English film producer who used to be a secretary at the embassy some 11 years ago. She now works in an architect's office nearby.

I mentioned Oxfam's typewriter problem to her and Mrs Edwards, after due reflection, said: "I never used the Khmer machines, of course, but I am sure they were Remingtons. I can remember that they made a deep thumping noise when in use, and I'm sure only a Remington would do that".

Then I happened to recall from my years in West Germany that the German Adler typewriter company prided itself on its wide range of type-faces (I ordered a special one for myself, though not in Khmer). I passed on the names of the two manufacturers to Oxfam and thought no more about it.

Oxfam have now advised me that both Mrs Edwards' excellent memory and my own fly-paper mind led to her right. The charity contacted both firms to ask if they could deliver 500 Khmer machines, and received a positive answer in each case.

As it turned out, Adler pipped Remington at the post by quoting Oxfam a price which works out at £20 less per machine, a saving of £10,000 which no charity could afford to ignore. Miss Carol Pawson, of Oxfam, told me that the decision to order the German model was taken at

the weekend. Both firms had offered the machines at trade prices.

The typewriters, which will cost £15,000 in all, will be despatched from a West German or Dutch port in two consignments, half at the end of March and the rest about a month later.

"In a way we hoped to place the order with Remington because it would have been their factory in Calcutta that got the work and it would have been good to provide a little employment in the Third World," said Miss Pawson. The German company is ready to provide after-sales service and training in use and maintenance.

Antidote for euphoria

The antidote to any euphoria you may still be feeling at the start of a new year can be found at most bookstalls and costs only 16p.

The latest edition of Old Moore's Almanack, that quiet eccentric not power of astrology, self-improvement advertisements, pools forecasts and special offer lucky charms first published in 1697, pre-

dicts a hard year for Britain, a fairly safe bet these days, but also promises the start of a national regeneration with moves towards a written constitution.

The doyen of Jonah's forecasts stagnation in world trade, highest unemployment, labour unrest, disruption in oil supplies, bad news from Northern Ireland and some kind of renewed nationalism in Scotland. He also predicts unrest in eastern Europe and political disruption within the Soviet Union itself. There can be no arguing with his contention that this is going to be a critical year for President Carter, whose chances of reelection he rates as "good".

He hints at a major scandal in the Isle of Man this month, luddite attacks on computers in February, a big epidemic in March, a national scandal and a nasty budget in April and a miserable May for the entire world.

If you find this less than cheering, you can always answer the advertisement near the back offering information on the after-life, though at this rate you may be asking whether there is a life before death.

Dan van der Vat

Underground conservation in the City

A public inquiry into redevel-

opment plans for part of Philpot Lane in the City of London is due to open on February 12. Beneath this bald announcement lies the unusual story of a conservation campaign which began above ground and suddenly plunged below it when a remarkable archaeological discovery was made.

Philpot Lane runs from Fenchurch Street in the north to Eastcheap in the south. Two subsidiaries of Wates Ltd have already started redeveloping part of the site, comprising numbers 5, 7, 8 and 9 Philpot Lane, which turns into the tiny Brabant Court to the west of the street.

Planning permission had already been granted for part of the site. Wates had already begun building a complex of offices, shops and a restaurant and a powerful campaign to conserve numbers 5 and 8 on the grounds that they are rare examples of eighteenth century merchants' houses was already under way when Wates' very generosity in allowing access

to the site led to the discovery of an almost complete medieval undercroft.

To the layman's eye, the present state of numbers 7 and 8, protected buildings though they are, suggests that it would be necessary to destroy them in order to save them.

But the undercroft beneath them, according to two experts on subterranean London, is a find likely to occur only once in a generation. Specialist confirmation of the value of the discovery came just before Christmas, attributing the structure to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century Chaucer's time.

It is one of the earliest examples of the use of brick in the City, and is dressed with stone thought to come from Caen in Normandy. Originally it probably protruded some four feet above ground level and would have had lights near the roof to illuminate its role as a storage basement for the timber-frame shops which stood above it until the Great Fire of 1666.

The conservationists would like to see it preserved, restored and thrown open to the public within the redevelopment scheme. Mr Paul Wates, chairman of Wates Developments Ltd,

Le Monde LA STAMPA THE TIMES DIE WELT **Europa**

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Jean Barret sees signs of the emergence of another period of opportunities for change, the effects of which this time are likely to be on a worldwide scale, and details eight of the most important changes that are taking place

History's glacier is cleft: all things are possible

History advances by a process of continual evolution occasionally punctuated by abrupt shifts. When the latter occur, the ice-bank of opportunities for change breaks up and all things become possible. Men, political parties or regimes either use or miss these opportunities and then the ice-bank regains its former solidity.

Such periods are characterized by new developments in the life of societies and are therefore foreseeable. It would seem that we are today witnessing the emergence of new factors heralding one of these periods, but this time their effects are likely to be on a worldwide scale. The eight most important changes are:

The use of nuclear weapons. The old deterrents probably saved us from war between the two big powers during the 1950s, since the certainty that retaliatory action would destroy any aggressor's towns within half an hour of an attack was effectively the ultimate deterrent. However, the situation is changing. Within a few years the accuracy and numbers of missiles will have developed to such an extent that it will become possible for either side, as the aggressor, to neutralize the other side's retaliatory capability. There is no reason to believe that either of the big two would use its strike power in a balanced world, but other factors are precipitating us towards an imbalance. At all events, the possibility of a nuclear war of this type must be acknowledged. Here we have a first new factor.

The energy crisis. In the eyes of the public, the continued rise in oil prices is considered to be the fault of the Arab sheikhs, but in fact it reflects the workings of the law of supply and demand (not to say might is right). Governments which understand this will seek compromises, but exasperated populations, believing in miracles, will one day force governments into military action. Before long someone will invent a theory of "international ownership of mining resources". The progress of nuclear weapons has created the possibility of war and in a few years the crisis may provide a plausible motive for such a war. The end of non-intervention. In former times only a tiny (and often élitist) minority knew about the problems of the world and the discretion of the diplomatic corps was conducive to hypocritical ignorance of unpleasant facts. This non-intervention was possible in today's world, in which television and radio feed a surfeit of information to the ordinary citizen, it is no longer possible to uphold a code of values at home while at the same time remaining on good terms with those who destroy it abroad.

President Carter is torn between human rights and the demands of realpolitik and he will perhaps be the first political victim in history of this new dichotomy. Already Uganda, the Central African Republic and the Helsinki agreements have marked the de facto end of non-intervention. The first two in the list of changes create the possibility of war and a motive; this, the third, could one day supply a moral justification for certain wars.

The resurgence of protectionism. The energy crisis has created the need for all-out export effort to maintain today's trade balances. This has led to the exporting of entire factories which will be delivering goods on to the world market, thus upsetting tomorrow's trade balances. The economists know that protectionism is a mistake, but the need to maintain employment and to pacify public opinion could lead to protectionism.

Behind protectionism there lurks autarchy, which is often the prelude to nationalistic economic and political excesses. It is also the necessary structure for decisions motivated by excessive national egoism, a structure which can make for war, since it reduces interdependence to a minimum.

The challenge to majorities. Democracy rests on the concept of majority power. In a period of calm, or better yet one of progress, the 48 per cent in the minority yield to the 51 per cent in the majority. This has not always been the case in periods of economic crisis (witness Hitler, Mussolini or Franco). Some minorities are already resorting to violence, protest movements, ecology or demands for regional autonomy.



These minority movements are very dangerous, and some of them are irresponsible. Corporatism, lobbies, the Basque, Breton and Corsican autonomists are all symptomatic of the emergence on the political scene of particularist forces in opposition to the symbiotic structures represented by states and governments.

Democratic society rested on the general agreement achieved by these symbiotic powers, but they are developing cracks on all sides and for the present conventional politics are powerless to do more than paper over. Majorities tend to react by opting for authoritarian structures which, although by no means "fascism", can lead to many an adventure, and therefore contain the potential for crisis.

New scientific developments: At a time when politics is already unsuited for coping with old problems, scientific discovery is creating new problems with each passing year. The atom is the classic example, but there will be others. For instance, it will be possible in a few years to choose the sex of one's children in advance. In our societies, with an average of 1.5 children per couple (with a marked preference for a male first-born) freedom of choice is likely to lead to a future generation in which there will be two men to every woman.

Think of the consequences for the family cell, which such a development would effectively make arithmetically impossible if governments allowed complete freedom of choice. If governments did intervene, would it mean that future parents would have to obtain an official form sanctioning their choice of sex? Abortion and contraception are already changing codes of values and behaviour patterns, but the problems are as nothing compared to those that lie ahead with this new development which raises the whole question of genetic manipulation.

These abrupt changes in the old morality in the face of the advance of a new ethic cannot fail to disturb the existing political models. Even if the ethic which eventually emerges proves to be an improvement, the change is bound to create disruption, thus adding to the list of causes of crisis?

The failure of political models. In the past the alternative models of capitalism and socialism shared the favours and aspirations of the various classes. Today capitalist liberalism survives only by accepting state intervention, rejecting the laws of supply and demand in many instances and levelling excessive inequalities—all of which is contrary to its own logic. Socialism, for its part, is able to hold out only by applying constraints to human

Madam President, France is the country where the press and people in politics are most critical of what you have been doing in the European Parliament, much more than in Italy or West Germany for instance. Are they not getting at M. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's European policy through you? Is your policy merely the same as his?

It is a fact that I led the European list which claimed to represent the policies of the President of the Republic. This does not mean that my views on everything are aligned with his. As President of the European Parliament, moreover, I am not particularly anxious to have a clearly defined line of my own, but am more concerned to represent the majority view of our assembly, as it emerges.

Do you mean by this that it is not possible to guide the majority and that it has to be followed?

It is impossible to guide it, or at least to support it, particularly in its image. It has to demonstrate that it is working effectively and responding, in part at least, to the hopes placed in it. This is the underlying purpose of the programme which we have planned for the next three months.

Which topics will be covered? Subjects which we consider priority issues, beginning with employment, then energy, on which we feel there should have been a common policy at an earlier stage, then agricultural policy and finally the problem of hunger in the world, a subject which we have already debated and on which our committee on development and cooperation does a lot of work. Regarding employment, it is not likely that an assembly such as yours, with a conservative majority, has made difficulties for itself by choosing this issue on which it cannot give full satisfaction to such as the trade unions and the parties of the left?

Whatever the predominant tendency of the Assembly—and that is a matter which could be discussed at length—detailed consideration of working hours and work organization could yield many ideas of potential usefulness to governments.

It is not easy to imagine this Assembly coming out massively in favour of the 35 hour week. Are things that simple? For instance, I find that not enough consideration has been given to the arrangement of working hours and part-time work—and here I do not refer exclusively to women. There are plenty of interesting proposals to put forward and changes to be obtained.

You do not care to hear the Parliament described as "conservative". Are you afraid that its conservative image will rub off on you because you have been its president?

First of all, I aim to be the President of the whole assembly. Moreover, I hope to see the emergence of majorities which are not rigidly determined by political affiliations. In fact I have noticed on several occasions that a given political group does not automatically react to a given issue in the way one might have predicted. Another point to bear in mind is that in Europe, government conditions vary from country to country.

Does national discipline replace party discipline in voting when it comes to the defence of individual countries' interests?

That does happen, but I find that in general, even though they may defend electoral interests, as members of all assemblies do, more members of the European Parliament do try to carry aside national policies, even when this is not easy. I also find that, within the political groups, efforts are made to make concessions across national frontiers in order to establish common positions. Some genuinely European work is going on inside the political groups themselves.

What do you think of the Italian Radicals?

They are as much members of this Parliament as the others. From now on the new rules afford them scope to express themselves with all the prerogatives enjoyed by members of a political group, while at the same time preventing them from obstructing proceedings. They contribute interesting ideas.

Is it true that you sometimes take liberties when applying the rules of procedure of the Assembly?

I do my best to apply them strictly, but who could be consistent at all times in applying rules which are no longer suited to the new Assembly, when hundreds if not thousands of amendments have been tabled to a text which consists of only a few articles? Here we have to deal with obstructive manoeuvring designed to undermine the spirit of the rules.

Do you believe that this method produces the desired results more or less quickly? Is it economical of resources or does it create blockages which then have to be sorted out?

I believe that compromise is a part of life and that every possible avenue for compromise should be explored in the first place. In discussions with your counterparts, you cannot expect to get everything you are asking for. But pitching your demands at a very high level from the outset is perhaps one way of getting more. At all events, if we are to get on in the Community, there has to be a certain amount of give and take.

Although it seems clear that it is going to be necessary to re-discuss the workings of the agricultural common market, is it not difficult to ask a country such as France to make major

Reflecting the majority is best policy

The next 20 years are unlikely to see any sudden development in European integration. In this interview with Jacqueline Grapin, Mme Simone Veil, President of the European Parliament, suggests that greater unity will be achieved through a response to issues as they arise rather than through the establishment of institutions



normal phenomenon to do with the advancement of women or is it due to the powerlessness of men in difficult circumstances?

I do not think that it has anything to do with the powerlessness of men. We have already had Mrs Indira Gandhi and Mrs Golda Meir, but they were exceptional cases and they each came to power at special moments in history.

Mrs Thatcher was the first woman to become a prime minister in the course of a normal political career. Her predecessor as the leader of the Conservatives, Mr Heath, lost the support of the majority of his party and she was elected leader and came into power in the same way as any other political leader. What

else do you think of the Italian Radicals?

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Although it seems clear that it is going to be necessary to re-discuss the workings of the agricultural common market, is it not difficult to ask a country such as France to make major

concessions on the benefits which it has acquired when nothing is offered in return?

Do you not think that it would be easier to solve this problem, as you say, in a spirit of give and take, and why not by throwing British North Sea oil into the scales and creating an as yet non-existent energy market?

This is precisely what has been suggested by various of Britain's partners as a development of the Dublin discussions.

In practice, the wider the field of negotiation, the easier it is to establish a compromise and therefore to reach agreement. Can the Parliament make proposals for compromise linking various issues, such as agriculture and energy?

To a certain extent this is what has already been done with its budgetary proposals, which called for a reduction in the agricultural surpluses combined with an increase in other funds.

The aim was to reduce the concentration on agricultural policy and to widen European policy to other spheres, the budget being seen as the medium for doing this.

The way things have turned out, has not the European Parliament effectively been pleading the cause of Britain?

On certain issues, the concerns of the Parliament coincide with those of Britain. It is anxious to reduce the surpluses. However, it has never been its intention to call the Common Agricultural Policy into question. This is only a small part of the problems with which the British are concerned. Moreover, the vote on the budget was won by a very large majority and the council of ministers of agriculture, while regretting that the issue came up on the budget vote, has admitted that the problem needed to be sorted out.

In the given context, was it not imprudent to kick off in September with a topic concerned with defence?

It has not been said often enough that there was nothing extraordinary about that agenda. There had already been a report on the harmonization of industrial policies on armaments procurement. The rapporteur had asked what had become of it. What could be more normal? I cannot imagine any grounds on which this request could have been refused, since this issue had been debated on numerous occasions by the former Assembly.

Technically speaking, that is beyond question but, politically, it is perhaps less clear-cut, since there was such virulent criticism. As President of the European Parliament and a leading figure in French politics, are you not afraid that this job is putting you in the position of attracting the crossfire of disagreement between the RPR and the UDF in the French majority, since the European policies of these two parties are very different?

This is certainly true to some extent. But when one takes a decision, one must accept the consequences. Apart from the

personal aspect, I very much regret the repercussions of these criticisms on the Parliament's image especially when they are unjustified. In the event the Parliament was not in any way seeking to extend its powers to defence. It had already debated the same issue and it was merely returning to it and discussing the same very specific aspect. It was only when Parliament was sitting that some emotions were aroused, whereas during the meeting of the bureau no one had thought that there was anything extraordinary about it.

Would you be in favour of giving elected members of the European Parliament seats at the Western European Union, which is the European body with competence for defence matters? The present national representatives there are appointed and do not have much authority.

I do not think so. Having been elected to the European Parliament, which in principle has no competence in these matters, they would be in an ambiguous position.

Should they be elected directly to the Western European Union?

This is another matter which is outside my competence.

When you look forward to Europe in the year 2000, what do you hope to see and what do you realistically expect?

It is difficult for me to answer your question, because I have found that whenever one tries to make forecasts 20 years ahead, one gets them wrong. First you have to make various assumptions. If there is a grave international crisis, some sort of worldwide conflict, it seems to me that Europe will inevitably close ranks in order to face up to it, but then it will hardly have much time to concern itself with institutions.

There would be "summits", councils of ministers, etc?

Yes. Otherwise, assuming that there will be no such configuration and that we continue to have a tense situation as I believe will be the case, with many economic problems, energy difficulties and slower growth than a few years ago, Europe will very gradually take shape. I do not believe that the next 20 years will see any sudden development in the direction of integration, unless some exceptional personality emerges to inspire a new European mood.

I believe that those who find that European unification is not proceeding fast enough fail to take account of historical perspective. Set against two millennia of history, 20 years is a very short period. Much can happen during that time, but the institutions can scarcely evolve any more quickly.

Given the enormous range of potential challenges from such sources as the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and the Third World, not to dwell unduly on the Islamic problem, can Europe move towards greater unity?

I hope and believe that it will become more unified. But I think that this will happen through its response to issues and problems as they arise rather than through the establishment of institutions. It is the role of our Assembly to initiate such Community policies.

Do you have more faith in a Europe built on joint projects than in a political Europe?

In a sense, yes. It is difficult to predict areas in which developments will occur, but it is equally difficult to believe that energy will not be one of them. Quite, but one could scarcely say that Europe has displayed any great capacity for cooperation in energy since 1973.

This is true, but such cooperation is desirable and should become a reality by dint of necessity. Culture on the other hand is a sector in which there will be European initiatives, but quite specifically national characteristics will continue to predominate. On the industrial side, I imagine that we could see many projects of the Airbus type in such areas as remote data-processing and space. As for the institutions, everything will depend on whether or not a forceful personality emerges to exert decisive influence on their development.

And the Parliament itself?

The development of the European Parliament itself is difficult to visualize because I do not think that it can evolve autonomously. The political powers collectively represent a balance and the Parliament exists in relation to that balance.

Are you not concerned by the fact that Europe is on the sidelines of the major international events of the day?

This is not the case in certain areas. For instance, Europe has made its voice heard in connection with South-east Asia and the Cambodian tragedy. Europe has done most to arouse humanitarian feelings over this issue. There is certainly one important area of international relations in which Europe is not playing its part. This is the military side, but this is the position that it has chosen, preferring a policy of disarmament by the big two to a policy of engaging in the arms race itself.

You have not said whether you see Europe in the year 2000 as having disbanded, armed itself more heavily or remained in today's halfway situation. I would hope that Europe will be no more heavily armed than it is at present and that the two great powers will have made progress along the road to disarmament. Is that clear enough?

This seems like wishful thinking. Yes. My wishes for this year,

Facts and figures

Monetary policy is really beginning to bite

excellent poor	quality of growth	maintenance of growth
good bad	prices	productive capacity
fairly good very bad	unemployment	foreign trade
previous performance	rate of growth	vulnerability to external factors
GERMANY		
FRANCE		
ITALY		
BRITAIN		

Our European governments' attention remains focused on the American economy, which continues to exert a predominant influence, not only by virtue of its level of activity (although Western countries are not necessarily in phase with one another), but still more by developments in inflation, interest rates and the strength of the dollar. The recent pattern has been unclear; the statistical returns have produced many contradictions and a few surprises. For instance, the growth rate in gap for the third quarter has been revised upwards to 3.1 per cent.

Two much more recent statistics point in the same direction: in November, retail sales leapt by 1.8 per cent and, to everyone's surprise, the unemployment rate fell from 6 per cent to 5.8 per cent, with an increase of 350,000 in the number of people in employment, whereas it had been expected that the large number of redundancies, especially in the motor industry, would cause a deterioration.

However, there are also plenty of indications that the new restrictive monetary policy launched on October 6 by Mr Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, with its direct depressive effect on liquidity, is really beginning to bite. Consumer

credit has started to decline (with advances of \$2,200m in October compared with \$4,400m in September), car sales, which depend to a large extent on hire purchase, have slackened (down 15 per cent in November) and so have housing starts (down 8 per cent), probably as a reaction to the high mortgage rates.

Industrial output, too, fell by 0.5 per cent in November. The slowing in the pace of monetary growth is another indicator pointing in the same direction. The prime rate, having reached a peak of 15.75 per cent as recently as November 17, has been cut to 15.5 per cent, then 15.25 per cent and even to 15 per cent.

It is doubtful, however, whether this fall in the prime rate can go very far. In the opinion of one expert, Mr Kaufmann of Salomon Brothers, further rises in the early part of this year cannot be ruled out. For the downward trend to continue, slackening activity and weakening demand for credit are not enough in themselves. A

further dollar and a substantially reduced inflation rate are needed, and here the prospects are doubtful.

On the one hand, political events are placing the American currency under pressure. On the other hand, the combi-

nation of the consequences of the most recent oil price increases and perverse effects within the United States (for example, high interest rates pushing up the cost of housing, which was the main factor in the October rise in the index) does not augur well for any early reduction in the rate at which retail prices are advancing (more than 13 per cent a year over the past three months).

The trade unions believe that, by showing restraint, they have borne the brunt of the lost battle against inflation and are now adopting a more combative approach in their determination to make up lost ground. Even at Chrysler, for all that company's troubles, they have secured increases totalling 20 per cent over three years, much to the displeasure of Mr Kahn, director of the council for wage and price stability, who accordingly opposed the granting of government guarantees to the company.

Interest rates in our four European countries are, in general, still on an upward trend. They are being forced up by the sharp increase in American rates, often at a remove in time, and also by rising inflation. The most striking example is Italy, where the discount rate has been raised on two occasions, first from 10.5 per cent to 12 per cent,

and then by three full points to 15 per cent. Admittedly, inflation in Italy is running at more than 20 per cent and, moreover, the lira has weakened after the decision by Saudi Arabia to stop oil deliveries.

Under these circumstances the authorities, advised by the former Governor of the Bank of Italy, Signor Guido Carli, decided to accelerate the upward trend in interest rates. These, since they are still lagging behind prices, have probably not yet reached their peak, unless a return to wage restraint can be initiated by revision of the system of wage

revision, an unlikely prospect in the present political and industrial relations climate.

It is interesting to make a comparison with Britain, where the discount rate has also been raised by three points at a stroke, to the even higher level of 17 per cent, which observers had scarcely expected. Here again, any decrease in rates will be conditioned by what happens in the United States, but also by the domestic rate of inflation. Like Italy, Britain has seen its inflation rate rise above 20 per cent (calculated on the past three months).

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Prices: The average inflation for the four European countries improved slightly between October and November from 13 per cent to 12.5 per cent. In Britain, after the explosive increase in VAT, the rate continued to slow down, falling to 12 per cent, whereas in Italy it has once again climbed to 20 per cent.

In West Germany it remained stable at 3 per cent and in France it fell to just under 12 per cent. These rates are calculated on the basis of the past three months. The year-on-year rates are 5.7 per cent in West Germany, 11.5 per cent in France, 17.4 per cent in Britain and 18.7 per cent in Italy. In the case of West Germany, the price calculations are based on the old index, which Europa will retain. With the new index, the annual rate is 5.3 per cent instead of 5.7 per cent.

Nevertheless, there are some indications that the wages tide is turning: the miners' acceptance in a secret ballot in which they went against the recommendations of their union executive, of a 20 per cent increase—as against a demand for 65 per cent—is significant, as is the result of a CBI survey in which more than half the workers interviewed confirmed their willingness to exercise moderation, which has drawn praise from the "five wise men" in their most recent report.

However, as has been pointed out once again by the West German employers' organization, the BDA, the Bundesbank's intervention will be effective only if wage discipline is maintained and pay awards do not exceed 6.5 per cent, beyond which level activity will suffer and the chances of a return to lower interest rates will be jeopardized. Unfortunately, the demands being prepared for the 1980 round of wage negotiations are much higher; for instance,

Growth rates: between September and October, the industrial rate slipped back in West Germany (+2 per cent), remained stable in West Germany (0 per cent), continued to decline in Britain (-3 per cent) and improved in Italy (+5 per cent).

Herr Eugen Loderer, president of IG Metall, is asking for 10.5 per cent.

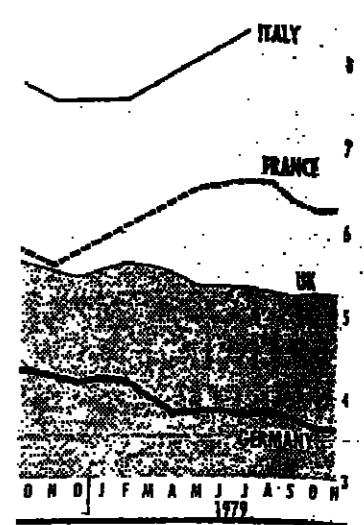
Significant decrease in inflation or interest rates for the time being. The recent oil price rises, the mechanisms of which are bearing an increasingly strong resemblance to Italian-style wage indexation with the parameters left to the discretion of each oil-producing country, are not going to improve the situation. The price per barrel doubled between the end of 1978 and the end of last year and, since the Opec members failed to agree upon a ceiling price at their meeting in Caracas on December 17, the upward trend will continue.

However, the lessons of 1974 and 1975 have not been forgotten and the industrialized countries will try to remain flexible and steer a middle course between the reefs of inflation and recession until their partners, both large and small, become reasonable once again.



UNEMPLOYMENT

estimated unemployment rate as a percentage of the working population (not comparable)



Unemployment: Seasonally adjusted unemployment as a proportion of the working population remained stable between October and November at 3.6 per cent in West Germany and at 5.25 per cent in Britain. It rose slightly in France from 6.2 per cent to 6.5 per cent after falls in two consecutive months.

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Maurice Bommensath

James Rothman looks at forecasts for the decade

Energy is the present obsession

Forecasts for the 1980s

	Annual rate of change (%) in:		
	Population	Labour force ⁽¹⁾	gnp per capita
Italy	.43	.52	3.3—3.9 ⁽²⁾
OECD ⁽¹⁾	.44	.58	4.7—7.1
France	.44	.58	3.4—3.6 ⁽²⁾
Germany	—.42	—.20	3.8—5.4
OECD ⁽¹⁾	—.42	—.20	3.4—3.7 ⁽²⁾
UK	—.14	.52	3.0—4.9
OECD ⁽¹⁾	—.14	.52	2.8—3.9
EEC	.19—4 ⁽²⁾	.38	2.8—3.8 ⁽²⁾
OECD ⁽¹⁾	.19—4 ⁽²⁾	.38	3.6 ⁽²⁾

	Annual rate of change (%) in:			
	Prices (gnp deflator)	Oil imports	Energy consumption	Unemployment in 1990
Italy	9	2.0—2.7 ⁽²⁾	4.3	10.4
France	8	—0.2—+1.6 ⁽²⁾	3.7—4.1 ⁽²⁾	9.5
Germany	4.5	1.1—1.3 ⁽²⁾	1.5—2.6 ⁽²⁾	6.9
UK	9	+	1.9	10.5
EEC	7.6	0.0—0.8 ⁽²⁾	3.1—3.8 ⁽²⁾	n.s.

⁽¹⁾ Interfutures ↑ UK becomes a net exporter * Conseil Economique et Social, June 1979.

Source: Except where otherwise indicated forecasts in Predicasts data bank ⁽²⁾ number of forecasts in range.

for gross national product and energy the highest and lowest figure when the Predicasts data bank contained more than one worldwide estimate.

Also included in the table are figures taken from the Interfutures study (2) referred to by Philippe Heymann last month. This report modelled the future on the basis of six alternative scenarios or sets of assumptions. The only national figures are for the strong and moderate growth cases and in both national productivity is assumed to converge towards a common level. The EEC range is wider because of estimates for other scenarios. The lowest value quoted for 1990 is for a situation in which growth slows but the developed countries continue to diverge in their productivity levels along the lines discussed in last month's *Europa* (3). The major economic groups are also assumed to adopt a protectionist policy towards each other.

None of the countries will show much growth in population over the next 10 years and Germany will actually experience a reduction. There will, however, be increases in the proportion of the population who are available to work (4).

In spite of this, national economies are expected to grow only slightly more rapidly than in the 1970s. As we saw last month, forecasters in 1979 assumed that past trends would continue. They could be making the same mistake again, in the sense that they have covered on too narrow a range of values. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development figures for the 1980s escape this pitfall.

The figures in the different columns have generally come from different original sources. Consequently they need not be consistent with each other. In the United Kingdom, for example, gnp per capita is calculated indirectly from forecast changes in gnp and population would range between growth rates of 2.0 per cent a year and 3.2 per cent instead of 2.8 per cent to 2.9 per cent as shown in the table.

In either case the figures all

suggest the standard of living measured in terms of gnp per capita will improve in the continental countries by 3 to 4 per cent a year, but the rate of growth in the United Kingdom will lag behind by a half to one percentage point each year.

Because of the effects of compound growth this means that over a 10-year period the standard of living on the Continent would improve by more than 40 per cent while in the United Kingdom it will rise by less than third.

National growth figures such as these do not reflect the distortions caused by exchange rate changes. In Interfutures (2) even on the extreme assumption of moderate divergent growth Japan in 1990 in terms of 1970 dollars is forecast to have a lower gross domestic product per capita than North America. At present exchange rates Japan is already treading on the United States heels.

Ideally comparative forecasts over long periods should be made in terms of purchasing power parities so that exchange rate induced changes in the price of imported goods can be taken into account.

It looks from the table as if stagflation will continue. Prices will rise fast enough to more than double during the decade everywhere except in Germany and by 1990 unemployment will be about 7 per cent in Germany and 10 per cent elsewhere.

One of the causes of these gloomy prognoses is that in the 1980s the controlling factor of production is likely to be, not labour or capital, but energy. Indeed it is arguable that instead of measuring efficiency in terms of output per man-hour or earnings on capital employed we should start looking at industries in terms of value added per kWh.

The table suggests that with

energy

would

be a difficulty.

Even so, they may have been

optimistic.

Most thought oil

producing

and exporting

countries

prices

would

rise

in line

with

inflation

at least

until

1985

but some of those most involved with oil thought they

would

rise

The range of personalities elected to the European Parliament ensures that the institution, whatever its political

limitations, is not lacking in vitality. These two

articles review the style of the assembly and some of the characters who sit in it

EMPLOYMENT
At the new European Parliament, some members have already made their mark—outstanding linguists, chairmen of multinationals, or dedicated human rights campaigners.

The British Conservatives include some of the most accomplished members.

Mr David Curry, aged 35, won a Kennedy Scholarship in 1966 to study in the United States, where he attended Dr Henry Kissinger's lectures at Harvard. He speaks perfect French and is married to a French woman. He is a journalist and has been in charge of European affairs on the *Financial Times* since 1975.

He makes no bones about the reasons for his presence in Strasbourg. "After Brussels in 1968, I would be lost if I went back to my horizons if I went back to live in London, where they are still debating the issues of 20 years ago, such as the distribution of wealth," he said. "But the root of the problem lies elsewhere: the United Kingdom has lost its position in the world, so we need new ideas." This is why, he confided, "several of my political friends elected to the European Parliament infuriate me because they are exporting intrinsically British ideas."

Another journalist (there are 53 in Strasbourg) is Lord Nicholas Bethell, aged 41, who has written for *The Times*, worked for the BBC and published a biography of Wladyslaw Gomulka. Educated at Harrow, he reads Arabic and speaks Russian. He has been in the European Parliament since 1975 and has specialized in European consumer affairs and human rights in the Soviet block, where he is no longer allowed to travel.

The most gifted linguist of the 410, probably Mr Robert Batterby, aged 55. He graduated in Russian and modern Greek at Cambridge and studied at the Sorbonne. He also speaks Italian, Spanish and German, and has some knowledge of Arabic, Chinese and several Central European languages. Before becoming a principal administrator in the European Commission in Brussels, Mr Batterby acquired sound business experience as sales manager of the building company Contractors Ltd.

Mr Batterby's contemporary Sir David Nicholson is chairman of Rothmans International, and was chairman of British Airways from 1971 to 1975. Nor is he the only senior executive of a multinational among Mrs Thatcher's friends in Strasbourg. Mr Peter Beazley, aged 57, is one of ICI's managers in Europe. He speaks four foreign languages and knows West Germany particularly well, having lived there for seven years.

Mr Madron Seligman is marketing director of the 60-company APV Group, but this perhaps tells us less about the man than his Harrow education, his membership of the Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs and the Royal Thames Yacht Club, and his hobbies: music, gardening and cricket.

Miss Novella Forster, a walking enthusiast and squash player, has no reason to be intimidated by these men. She is chairman of her own marketing consultancy and an officer of the British Association of Women Company Directors.

Of the Tory Lords, one of the most striking personalities at the European Parliament is Baroness Diana Elias, barrister educated not only in England but also at the Sacred Heart in Florence and the Cours Duperouy in Paris. She was a wartime WRAF officer. The Baroness sat in the European Parliament before the elections and was a member of the British delegation to the United Nations, after which she wrote a report for the United Nations on the rights of aliens.

She had the idea of forming the European Community Youth Orchestra, which Mr Edward Heath conducted. Another member of the nobility is the young Marquess of Douro, a director of an American investment company who is also a boxer and a member of the National Farmers' Union. Lord O'Hagan is roughly the same age (34) and went to Eton, which did not prevent him from turning up in jeans to the pre-election Parliament, where he sat as an independent and was wont to adopt an anti-establishment stance. He now sports a suit of impeccable cut, which could have something to do with his marriage to Princess Tamara Imrecks.

The former counsellor at the British Embassy in Paris, Mr John de Courcy Ling, summarized the views of the Thatchers in Strasbourg: "The future of Europe is in the centre and depends on understanding between M. Giscard d'Estaing's party and the British Conservatives". He was not afraid to add that "the two countries are lucky enough to have the support of the German economy", as though West Germany had no political weight. Last but not least of these blue-blooded British members, Lord Harnham-Nicholls, aged 67, has served in the Indian Army and was at one stage opposed to Britain's entry into the Community.

Unlike this old soldier of the British Empire, two members are committed to the European cause that one acquired dual nationality and the other changed his nationality in order to gain a seat in the European Parliament. The first of these is the son of the last Emperor of Austria, Archduke Otto de Habsburg, who, although retaining his Austrian nationality, acquired West German citizenship in order to gain election on the Bavarian

Social Christian list. The other is Mr Jiri Pelikan, a Czech political refugee since the Soviet invasion of his country in 1968, who was stripped of his nationality and took Italian citizenship in order to stand as a Socialist.

"I am so completely European that this did not represent the slightest problem to me," the Archduke explained. "Moreover, I have spoken to Jiri Pelikan and our approaches are parallel, since we want to show by our presence that East Europe, where there are no human rights, is not forgotten."

For the Archduke, Europe means above all a common culture founded on the individual rights established by Christianity, all of which is a far cry from the European campaign.

The Archduke devoted part of his European electoral campaign in Bavaria to the adoption of French as the *lingua franca* of Europe, and he now chairs a European Parliament study and action group on the French language which was set up this autumn. Thus an Austro-German citizen finds himself at the head of a transnational committee made up of Italians (including Signorina Susanna Agnelli, sister of the head of Fiat), Belgians (including Mme Antoinette Spaak of the Front des Francophones), and French members of all political creeds, notably the Academician M Maurice Druon, the former Minister for Cultural Affairs.

In his political group, the European People's Party, the Archduke sits alongside the former President of the Bundestag and the European Christian Democratic Group, Herr Kai-Uwe von Hassel, the instigator of the European Parliament debate on arms. Some of Herr von Hassel's French colleagues were bitterly critical of him for having attempted to widen the powers of the Parliament, especially in view of his position as the head of the Western European Union, whose province this was.

Among the other leading international figures, several are members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Herr Oskar Werner, president of the powerful confederation of German trade unions (GEG), represents the West German labour movement. Frau Luise Herklotz is one of Herr Willy Brandt's supporters concerned with cultural affairs, leading a European committee on the protection of the architectural and

social heritage of the old Continent.

Of the French, several members of the *Union pour le Democratique Francaise* (UDF), such as M Jean Lecanuet and M Pierre Primitiv, have always been convinced Europeans and, moreover, played an important role under the Fourth Republic in the launching of the Community. Few of them, however, have experience of Asia, with the limited exception of M Edgar Faure, a former prosecutor at Nuremberg and one of the initiators of France's recognition of China in 1964. Other exceptions can be found among the Socialist members, such as Dr Gerard Jacquet, vice-president of the European Movement, and M Maurice Faure, one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Rome.

The French personality with perhaps the most international outlook appeared on one of the two lists of people who campaigned on the most nationalistic lines: Mme Louise Weiss, aged 86, former editor of *Europe Nouvelle*, confidante of M Aristide Briand and M Jean Monnet, founder of the Institut des Sciences de la Paix.

M Jiri Pelikan came to Strasbourg, as he said, to "carry on the struggle for freedom after the defeat of August, 1978". On his arrival in the capital of Alsace, he held a press conference to arouse public opinion. He began by suggesting

in mind the strict limits fixed in its regard by the Treaties of Rome. A lesser evil, in short, was inevitable but not dangerous.

Never before, perhaps, was such a striking error of assessment committed. Today, united Europe has got to take notice of its Parliament, which is by no means resigned to being a simple rubber stamp, endorsing what is laid down by the Brussels Commission. The history of the last brief weeks of 1979 proves this; the bitter conflict over the Community budget shows how much the 410 European deputies have suppressed in six months of what, in the view of many observers, should have been a big fig for Europe and only look after their own interests?

Or, on the other hand, brave champions of a community ideal which is still struggling to make progress; pioneers of a futuristic concept "that goes beyond parties", in which everyone, whether representing the powerful or the most insignificant minorities, shall have the same opportunity to make his voice heard.

Somewhere between these two extremes is the somewhat hasty view—which is in danger of becoming consolidated with time—that tends to be formed in the European Parliament.

The truth, as usual, lies somewhere in the middle, which above anything else must be anchored to the rise and fall of hopes and disappointments that have seen the light of day since the historic vote on June 10.

There is no doubt—and it would be foolish to deny it—that the Community Assembly, voted into power by the direct election of the nine EEC countries, arose from beneath a banner of indifference and general apathy. Another useless organization, it was said at the time, that would be costly and above all ineffective, bearing

another fact, which stupefied casting in chess, does not offer it very much of a way out.

Take the case of the episode that has dominated the front pages of the newspapers in recent weeks. In rejecting the budget, and engaging in a trial of strength with the Community Government, the European Parliament was certainly exercising its own right; but it was a negative right, the blocking of initiatives and not the approval of schemes to replace them.

In effect, despite itself, the European Parliament is obliged to act as a "watchdog" able to offer a valid alternative to its grand refusal. This is a cause that could become even more explosive and frustrating, because Parliament cannot shoulder all the blame and go down in history as the "mad house" that destroyed all the pan-European edifice that had been so laboriously built up over the last decades.

But can parliamentary Europe take unto itself the function of supreme judge (parliaments are allowed to do anything except change the sex of their voters), risking putting back the hands of the clock which continues to sound the hours towards integration, when on the other hand the Dublin summit meeting came very close to foundering on the rocks? This is perhaps the European Parliament's limit. It preaches cohesion, paws the ground and gets excited in defence of the more equal sharing of Community charges, and digs its heels in when it feels hurt; and yet the citadel in which it finally seeks refuge, like a king

Piero de Garzaroli

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Indeed the Italian Radicals have been making a name for themselves with their campaign in Italy in favour of divorce, abortion, conscientious objection and homosexual rights. Signor Panella had a brush with the Sofia authorities in 1968 when demonstrating against the entry by Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia.

As old friend of Mr Pelikan

—the two men have known each other for 30 years—is another who could not be accused of apathy. This is Signor Marco Panella, who had actually invited Mr Pelikan to stand as a candidate for the Radical party but, as he acknowledges, "I fully understand that he could have been uncomfortable about some of our policies".

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Indeed the Radical party consciously seeks to be internationalist in its causes, in its action and also in its choice of leadership. Significantly, its president is a Frenchman, M Jean Fabre, aged 32, who in 1977 was sentenced, in his absence, by the armed forces standing tribunal to four months' imprisonment for sending back his national service papers. He was sent to

Fresnes prison late in October, and party members were refused leave by the French authorities to visit him on the eve of their conference. Eventually he was freed on November 28 and exempted from military service.

As for Signor Mario Capanna, the Italian extreme left-wing member, he has already drawn attention to himself with a speech in which he addressed the assembly for several minutes—in Latin.

Having made a close scrutiny of the Parliament's rules of procedure, the Italian Radicals tabled several thousand amendments. As passionate supporters of international action against famine Signor Panella, Bonino and Macciochi gained her seat after the recent resignation of Signor Leonardo Sciascia, the Sicilian writer who decided to restrict himself to the single mandate of being an Italian Member of Parliament so that he could take a close hand in the proceedings of inquiry into the assassination of the Christian Democrat leader, Signor Aldo Moro.

Before being elected as Member of Parliament for Naples in 1968, Signor Macciochi had been a long-serving militant in the Italian Communist party, which she joined in 1942. But she claims that she has never been a Stalinist. Admittedly, she was rather unsettling in her proclaimed sympathy for the 1968 student movement. Moreover, the interest in the Chinese experiment which she showed in her book *La Chine*, published in 1971, marked the beginning of her estrangement from the Italian Communist Party.

Signor Panella has represented on a number of occasions that the Strasbourg Parliament suffers from excessive virility, but no crisis of ideals. This, then, is the price it pays in its search for that constitutional form which alone, perhaps, can let it discharge in full its proper function, which is to legislate, without constraints of any kind, for the wellbeing of the Community.

Piero de Garzaroli

Relations continued to deteriorate thereafter, because of her hostility to the formula of the "historic compromise" between Communists and Christian Democrats. In the end her attendance at the far-left rally held in September, 1977, in Bologna—the citadel of Italian communism—led to her exclusion from the Communist Party.

These Italian militants are not on strange territory in Strasbourg, however. Signor Panella has been a Paris correspondent of *Le Giornale*, a director of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and a governor of the European Investment Bank, and he was Amnesty International's special envoy to the Middle East in 1969 and 1970.

This handful of dedicated human rights campaigners shows the better face of Europe, allowing it to give many countries ravaged by dictatorship and torture a effect of how freedom works. Moreover, it is there that Europe's strength lies rather than in the wrangling over the extension of the European Parliament's powers.

Laurent Leblond and Serge-Alain Rozenblum

Mario Fasanotti looks at employment

Where jobs are on the increase

From 1971 to 1976, 600,000 jobs have disappeared in Europe. There are, however, some areas where employment has increased, and this is the case of Prato, a textile manufacturing area which has withstood all the buffering of the commercial and financial trials and tribulations of these past few years.

In this region, in the heart of Tuscany, employment has increased in these critical years by more than 1,500 jobs. There, on the banks of the river Bisenzio, the economic cascading waters have been made to look silly; they had predicted, at the beginning of the 1970s, an inevitable decline in the Italian textile industry, which they considered an industry past its prime, decaying even. Initially, it seemed that events would bear them out. Factories closed, the number of people employed fell, and "black" working—the ancient remedy for the alternating ups and downs of the trade cycle (a rapid cycle, in the case of the textiles industry)—became increasingly widespread.

As the years went by Prato, together with another Italian textile manufacturing area, Biella, reversed the situation, and proved wrong those who considered that the products coming from the developing countries would inevitably dominate the market. Today, a number of Prato manufacturers are even going to Tokyo to negotiate directly with the Japanese and other Asian peoples, no whom they illustrate the happy story of their own particular products Made in Italy.

One has to bear in mind human and historical factors. With regard to the former, a recent study has listed a few—a tradition of hard working and a readiness for risk-taking in business on the part of the population (everyone thinks he has a field marshal's baton in his haversack); a spirit of independence (everyone aspires to become a "boss" in his own small way); a preference for having one's own trade, rather than being impersonally employed; a respect for creative ability, and manual skill.

In this region where the most classic institutional values of the liberal economy proudly survive, the level of entrepreneurial risk is high. This is shown by the continuous pattern of growth and decline, the rapid turnover of old firms failing and new firms being formed. It is the very opposite, in short, of the assisted economy.

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There are other phenomena, less beneficial from the social and human standpoints, which are described by the expression "the fragmentation of the labour market". In other words, side-by-side with the normal market there is the world of pensioners, women working at home, those doing a second job.

These are the results of the so-called decentralization of production, a concept which economists define as a reduction in the degree of vertical integration of an industry by progressively sub-dividing the stages in production within and outside the firm. All of this is also facilitated by the fiscal system (value-added tax, they say, is an incentive to vertical disintegration).

Still from the theoretical point of view, it would appear that Prato is a happy "island". From the economic point of view it is, but from the human standpoint it is much less so. Some people even speak of a "mammoth hell". In the words of Signor Ivo Meoni, the trade unionist, one of the secrets of Prato's success is: "Self-exploitation on the part of the working classes, who accept the extension of their working day".

Together with an accentuated aggregation of company life there is a dangerous element of social and family disintegration. Many women call themselves "widows" because they never see their husbands, who are wedded to their jobs. Wages are high, but it is difficult to have accurate standards for comparison. People do not talk very much, since one does not meet them very often.

Although, on the one hand, those aspects of alienation that are inherent in the way industrial working is organized are less prominent there, there are none the less high social costs in the form of the disorganization of family life, the disruption of schooling, and the threat to individual and collective health (pollution).

A sign of the rejection of this system is coming from the latest generations, although it would be a mistake to say that this was not a phenomenon on a European scale. According to an investigation made by the employers' association, industry in Prato requires an average 20 clerical workers and intermediate grades for every 100 manual workers. What it is now offered is 100 clerical workers for every 10 manual workers.

But after due deliberation our panel decided that Ann Burdus was to be the 1979 Business Woman of the Year

Community states have divergent views on working hours



The last meeting of ministers of labour and social security in Brussels did nothing for the hopes of the European trade union movement; the attempt to involve the Community in the unions' campaign for shorter working hours is unlikely to succeed in the foreseeable future.

For some years the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) has been pressing its proposals on work-sharing to be accepted as an urgent item of EEC policy. But very little has come of this which can be described as a success in terms of its policy aims.

On the contrary, in its decision on adjustment of working

hours the Council of Ministers said nothing which can be of any real comfort or assistance to the unions. Member state governments are not aiming at a set of blanket regulations for the EEC, but at the most are prepared to sanction a certain degree of Community alignment in the approach to the problems in question.

The ETUC contends that the ministers attending the Council meeting were too partial in their support for the employers' interests. It would be truer to say, however, that

in view of the divergent economic and social systems prevailing in the EEC no common denominator was possible.

Conflicting views are not only found between the two sides of industry. There is just as much disagreement in the EEC between one member state and another on the extent to which a fairer sharing of the work available might help to solve the problem of employment.

Whereas Belgium and the Latin countries are inclined to

include shorter working hours

among Community strategies for bringing about a return to full employment, other member states openly shrink from any such idea. They are afraid that accelerated measures in this area would only make it harder than it is already to change the economic structure, and would in practice frustrate the creation of new jobs. They are certainly not willing to be brought to a united view by anything that Brussels may decide on its own. There is the further point that direct intervention as regards the labour market is in some EEC countries politically out of the question and also

proscribed by law.

In West Germany, for instance, the Government is not only keeping out of the wages arena on principle, but also leaves agreements on working hours to be settled through the machinery of collective bargaining. On the other hand the Belgian Government recently came out loud and clear in favour of a gradual reduction in the working week provided that the trade unions are prepared to accept in return corresponding reductions in wages and salaries.

The important thing for the trade unions is that the introduction of shorter working hours as a deliberate feature of employment policy would also open the way to greater social progress. For the employers the main issue is the higher operating costs and the impairment of their competitive position in world markets which would result.

The EEC Commission has, although somewhat cautiously, pronounced in favour of a policy of work-sharing. Its chief concern is to channel the heated discussion going on in member states in such a way that it can lead to greater convergence in national economic policies.

Brussels estimates that the labour force potential in Europe of the Nine will most probably have risen by 1985 by 500,000 to 800,000. However great the efforts to boost economic growth, they are unlikely, in the Commission's view, to be enough to cause any appreciable decline in the current rate of unemployment.

The Commission has, therefore, gone part of the way at least towards accepting the demands of the employees' representatives. It is advocating an EEC skeleton agreement of a kind which will assimilate the prerequisite conditions for ensuring that employers remain competitive and at the same time give the Community a more social face.

In its draft proposals for the Council's decisions the Commission indicated that it was expec-

Steelworkers in northern France. The attempt to involve the EEC in the European trade union movement for shorter working hours seems unlikely to have any immediate success.

tion of short-term measures for the restructuring of working hours... to contribute towards an improvement in the employment situation and better working conditions". It also urged that this policy should be incorporated in a Community framework.

At the same time the EEC authorities believe that the costs of work sharing would need to be "fairly distributed among the parties concerned". Mobility of labour and capital investment and restructuring of industry must not be allowed to be adversely affected as a consequence of work-sharing.

But the Council of Ministers did not concur with the tenor of these proposals. While accepting that measures for the adjustment of working hours could serve as support measures for improving the employment situation, the Council equally emphasized that a variety of factors need to be taken into account in evaluating such measures. The Commission had requested that governments should examine with both sides of industry acceptable conditions for a common procedure for the shortening of normal working hours, but the decision ultimately taken falls far short of this. It mentions in this connection only "Community viewpoints which could be taken into account as occasion arises in branch or sectoral agreements in individual member states".

The tortuous language in which the Council's document is written is a clear indication that an EEC general agreement on matters of trade and economic policy is still less difficult to achieve than the subjects of an inflammatory social nature. The EEC tripartite system consisting of government, employers and trade unions is hardly likely to make much progress in view of the lack of decision in its councils.

It is by no means improbable that a number of national unions in EEC countries will now go back to skulking in their corner of the ring. The ETUC has announced its determination to pursue the campaign for shorter working hours at Community level; but its prospects of winning over the Community to act as a spearhead for the realization of national demands are far from bright.

Wilhelm Hadler

On the contrary

Phèdre après Dublin

Mon mal vient de plus loin. A peine par les traités
De Paris et de Rome je m'étais engagée,
Mon repos, mon bonheur semblait être assuré ;
Dublin me montre mon superbe ennemi :
Un système agricole par trop dépensier
Qui nie la justice sur le plan financier.
Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue ;
Un trouble s'éleva dans mon âme éperdue ;
Mes yeux ne voyaient plus, mais je pouvais
Je sentis mes collègues et transir et bailler.
Je reconnus Giscard et ses feux redoutables,

Sound balance of information and propaganda

A broadcasting service which was inaugurated to keep the Empire informed, and which the Second World War transformed into a foreign-language service, still has an important role. Alain Evans, Senior Producer, BBC French Language Service, writes

greater use of the English language.

Of course, the BBC is only one of very many broadcasting organizations across the world and the accompanying table shows some of the leading external broadcasters today.

But to return to the original question: is external broadcasting organized for purposes of propaganda or for purposes of information? Naturally the dividing line is sometimes fairly narrow. It must be noted that in most countries broadcasting overseas the organizations charged with this function are controlled by the Government, editorially as well as financially.

But even when there is no active supervision, the national interest has to be born in mind. Naturally, no government likes being criticized, particularly by a body which it finances. On the other hand the output must be credible. If you are selling a product, the consumer must be induced to buy it. And if you are broadcasting, no one can be obliged to listen overseas unless the programmes are such as to provide interest.

The only people who will listen to blatant propaganda are those who already believe in what is being expounded. On the other hand, if the programmes being broadcast are presented in an objective way, giving all sides of a question, then the listener is more likely to tune in regularly.

It is self evident that in those countries that do not have a free press, or that cannot afford complete press and broadcasting facilities, broadcasting in the vernacular can fill the gap. Objective news and commentaries will achieve far more than any amount of propaganda.

But the next question is far more complex. Granted that certain countries of the world need such a service are foreign broadcasts really necessary when beamed to countries of Western Europe, for instance, where everyone is free to read any newspaper, to listen to any broadcasts and where information is freely available? That is the question that was put in Britain in August, 1977, in the report on external broadcasting written by the Central Policy Review Staff (the "Think Tank").

Such a question assumes first of all that the press and radio in Western Europe are completely unfettered, which is perhaps not always the case. It is assumed also that the press will carry all relevant international news. In fact, with a few notable exceptions, this is not the case. It is not for reasons of space and quality of readership. Most popular newspaper readers are unlikely to be swayed by long articles on the EEC budget.

Furthermore, not everyone has access to foreign newspapers, or has the linguistic ability to listen to overseas broadcasts in the native language.

However, if you have the possibility of listening to overseas broadcasts presented in your own language, you can find out what Britain thinks of EEC policies, what Germany is doing to fight inflation, what France's nuclear policy consists of. And at a time when Europe is coming closer together but has still many problems to solve among the different countries, there surely broadcasting organizations that can "elucidate objectively the situation" should be able to achieve a closer understanding between peoples.

The major external broadcasting organizations of the world

	Total programmes hours per week June 1979	Number of languages June 1979	Dec 1968
Soviet Union	2,010	85	82
United States	1,836	2,006	45
China	1,400	1,180	52
West Germany	791	721	39
BBC	712	725	33
Egypt	542	599	39
		30	35

Figures for United States include broadcasts by Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Figures for West Germany include broadcasts by Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk.

PANGLOSS



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MRS GANDHI SWEEPS BACK

Writing just before the imposition of the Indian emergency in 1975, an American academic psephologist described elections in India as a kind of national festival or *tamasha*, a source of entertainment, education, and excitement for countless millions of people. One may wonder which of these attractions have been uppermost in India's seventh general election. In some form education, certainly. When a miserably poor, illiterate peasant is faced by half a dozen or more competing candidates, the thought that he can go into a polling booth to choose one is a tiny gesture of self-assertion that gains meaning over time.

Numbers can tell. It happened in 1977. Now it has happened again. In which case the swing in Mrs Gandhi's favour against all predictions must be seen now, as in 1977, as an expression of mass feeling. Negative possibly, as in the rejection of emergency rule in 1977, and now no less in turning against the dithering ineffectiveness of the Janata coalition. But not only negative. In an election that gave the electorate no choice but between personalities the majority have found in Mrs Gandhi's favour as the only one that counts.

Observing Janata's failure, Mrs Gandhi decided that the utmost confidence in presenting herself as a national leader could best win the day—and it has done so handsomely. Against her was Mr Charan Singh, who is unknown in the south, and not that well known in the north either outside his own home state, Uttar Pradesh. By now Mr Rajiv Ram must also have lost his old appeal, seemingly more a Delhi-based opportunist, and certainly no longer a sufficiently credible spokesman of Hariani aspirations to carry national weight.

By contrast to these two rivals Mrs Gandhi campaigned all over the country. She is not identified with the Hindi-speaking political domination of the north over the south. She has done more than Mr Ram to earn the Hariani vote. Moreover in a country becoming increasingly politicized it may be noted that she is as much an agnostic and secular figure in the Hindu context as

SPORT ON THE ALTAR OF POLITICS

The decision of the rugby unions to go ahead with the Lions tour of South Africa is much to be regretted. It is difficult to believe that they have given sufficiently serious and responsible consideration to the representations made by the government which could hardly be labelled left-wing or soft. It is also difficult to believe that the rugby unions' decision is entirely unmotivated politically. It amounts to little less than a judgment by rugby enthusiasts on Britain's proper policy towards the politicization of sport, an immensely difficult, complex, and ever-rumouring subject. If sport is, as Mr Steele-Bodger is reported to have said, a new form of warfare, that is a nasty development, but it is not one which the rugby unions can change by themselves. It is something which others besides sportsmen must try to change, with a rather more intelligent and informed approach than Mr Steele-Bodger and his colleagues appear to have shown. The rugby authorities have set their own narrow interests above what the government has suggested to be a wider interest, and above the losses that may be sustained by many other sports which hope, unlike rugby, to send representatives from the United Kingdom to the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane in 1982, and to Moscow this year. The decision to tour South Africa also considerably reduces the authority of the Sports Council's imminent fact-finding mission on apartheid in sport in that country.

Nevertheless the rugby unions have made their decision. They were perfectly free to do so. The government, for its part, had impressed on them its objections to the tour, and thereby discharged its obligations under the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid.

An issue of 'Picture Post'

From Sir Tom Hopkinson
Sir, I was impressed by Philip Norman's article (December 29) and by all he had learned about B. L. Coombes, the Welsh miner, then unknown, whose article led the issue of Picture Post for New Year 1941.

That issue—"A Plan for Britain"—aroused more interest and produced a bigger correspondence than any in the magazine's history. Discussion of Britain's "War Aims" was generally discouraged by the wartime Government as being divisive. However, we were continually receiving letters from men and women in the forces demanding to know just what they were fighting for, and what kind of Britain they could expect after the war.

It was in response to this feeling that we decided for the first issue of January 1941 to draw up as complete a national plan as possible in our strictly rationed pages. Doubting my own knowledge in this field, I asked Julian Huxley to share the editing with me, which he did. Two days after it went on sale, being out of London and anxious to know the response, I rang the secretary and asked how many letters had arrived. There was no post in the editorial offices at all, she said. I asked her to check with the postal department, and in a minute she

her father was. In an era of rising Muslim political passion elsewhere she is impervious to doctrinal political pressures. Not least, to an electorate despairing of corruption among so many of its political leaders Mrs Gandhi appears as less tarnished than the others.

Given these advantages Mrs Gandhi has won back the world's largest floating vote—the electorate this time was 40 million more than in 1977, though whether excitement or entertainment brought any more to the polls than usual is still to be revealed. Reports of apathy among voters could also be true, despite the considerable majority Mrs Gandhi has collected. So it must be assumed that most of the electorate had forgotten the crimes of the emergency and remembered only such benefits as it brought—these were greater in the countryside than in the towns. It is sad that the mass arrests and totally unjust imprisonments have been so quickly forgotten. It is perhaps more surprising that the Indian electorate should forget the compulsory sterilizations, or Sanjay Gandhi's brutal and unlawful clearances. On the other hand Mrs Gandhi may well have won most Hariani votes and regained the Muslim ones she lost in 1977: the Imam of Delhi's largest mosque came out in her support early in the campaign.

Mrs Gandhi's great defeat was wasted by subsequent maladministration. Will her great victory now have any different result? None of Mrs Gandhi's party faithful inspires any more confidence than when in office during the emergency. Her ministers then were both cowardly and oppressive. Her government will be one of her own choosing rather than one of bargaining with others, ready to desert the parties they stood for in the election. That was what the prophets foresaw as a likely result if Congress (I) had no absolute majority. Nor has it been an election with any issues contested between parties. Law and order and economic progress—Mrs Gandhi's slogans might have served any political

party in India at any time in the past.

Some might therefore see the result of this election as taking India back to the days before the emergency. Obviously Mrs Gandhi will now rebuild the Congress Party after her own fashion. But she did that after an equally outright victory in 1971 and it broke up to the point where she decided to impose the emergency. This time it is not easy to foresee what change may follow from India's indisputable choice of a leader.

Fortunately for India in the last few years favourable rainfall has brought good harvests and good harvests have promoted economic advance—until last year, which was a year of decline. Can Mrs Gandhi arrest that or does the evidence point to the rise or fall in the Indian economy having little to do with the central government in Delhi? One answer may be that Mrs Gandhi herself is much less wedded to the "socialistic pattern of society" to which Congress declared its devotion in the sixties. The more political power becomes an issue the more ideology withers by the roadside. And no one believes that ideology of any kind can bring salvation to India; witness the steady decline over the past twenty years of all the left-wing parties. Nothing could be more conservative than India's two communist parties, neither of which has had fresh ideas to offer.

Such conclusions leave many questions unanswered. One is how far Mrs Gandhi has learnt the lessons of her rejection in 1977 and will curb her authoritarian tendencies. Another is the Russian presence in Afghanistan. In her public statements Mrs Gandhi has shown a leaning towards the Soviet Union ever since the fifties. Already her comment on the Soviet action has been muted while her fear of a rearmed Pakistan has been promptly and unhesitatingly exposed. Her record in office, however, has shown more caution towards Moscow than some of her sharp comments on western policy would suggest. The size of her electoral victory will not have reduced that caution.

the Lions' tour, it is equally right for it not to seek to impose a decision on British participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow. The brutal Russian invasion of Afghanistan has renewed calls for a boycott of the games. It should be up to the athletes and the various sporting bodies involved to decide whether or not to go. No doubt they will be subjected to enough information and pressure from supporters of both sides of the argument to enable them to come to a responsible decision. The games themselves are a travesty of their original objectives. Instead of the emphasis being placed on the struggle between individual sportsmen, as envisaged in the Olympic Charter, the games have become a forum for national glorification. The ideal of pure amateurism has long since gone, though the hypocrisy exhibited by some countries in claiming that their athletes are not professionals remains. It would be an improvement if the Olympic Games, like Wimbledon, were to be unashamedly open to all athletes.

Nevertheless there is an argument, which should not be ignored, that in spite of the political overtones that have now become the rule rather than the exception, the Olympic Games are still capable of providing a basis for enhanced international understanding, quite apart from providing the opportunity for the world's top athletes to compete against each other, and giving entertainment to the hundreds of millions watching the events on television. Whether or not Moscow can provide the necessary atmosphere of goodwill is another matter, but the sportsmen must be left to be the final arbiters of that. Freedom to go to South Africa means freedom to go to Moscow.

Race in the 1981 Census

From Mr Suhaih Aziz
Sir, Mr Mark Bonham Carter (January 3) has hit the nail! He is absolutely right. The uncertainty and anxieties within the ethnic minority communities have increased because of recent actions taken by the new Government, including the proposed revised Immigration Rules which have resulted in generating a dangerous sense of insecurity among these groups.

At the same time, it is vitally important that we gather together systematically as many "facts" as possible about the ethnic minorities and the Census being the major source of demographic information: the planning, development and assignment of correct policies in the field of race relations, to deal with various problems, need facts.

An opera house, and more particularly one which contains a major international opera and ballet company, cannot function on a five day week, and I hope that an early conclusion can be found to our current pay dispute. This will enable us to restore our original rehearsal schedules.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN TOOLEY
General Administrator,
Royal Opera House,
Covent Garden, WC2.
January 2.

came back to report: "So many sacks of letters have come in that they haven't been able to undo and distribute them."

A few weeks later we held a weekend conference at Edward Hulton's house in London to which a number of the letter writers were invited. B. L. Coombes was there, with other contributors and members of the staff, to take matters a stage further, and from this there were some quite practical results.

In the climate of today, such enthusiasm, for a project out of which none of the participants could expect any immediate advantage, may well seem incredible. Yours etc.

TOM HOPKINSON,
6 Marine Parade,
Penarth,
South Glamorganshire.
December 31.

Dispute at Covent Garden

From Sir John Tooley
Sir, I am grateful to William Mann (January 2) for drawing attention to the loss of a dress rehearsal for *Traviata* through a ban on Saturday rehearsals by the Royal Opera House Orchestra. The reason for that ban, however, is not overtime pay, but the unwillingness of the musicians to accept the management's current basic pay offer.

Christians and power politics

From Canon G. B. Bentley

Sir, Much as I dislike taking issue with Cardinal Hume, I am bound to say that his article in *The Times* of January 3 would have been the better for an infusion of *Realpolitik*. It is not very helpful to address Christians as if they could control the course of this world by adhering to the precepts of the Gospel or to suggest that it is in their power to choose effectually between armaments and the worldwide relief of hunger and poverty. The Gospel itself does not promise them any such influence upon the actions of states, nor do they in fact exercise it.

Would it be right, in any case, to try to persuade a government to neglect the defence of the people committed to its care in order to divert resources to the relief of need elsewhere? I think not. The prime function of a state in this fallen world is to establish a sufficient measure of law and order, national and international, to allow people to live their lives with some sense of security and, though we may deplore the fact, the only means of restraining international delinquency that we have so far discovered is maintaining a balance of power between nations—or groups of nations—which are conducting aims. Making in due contribution to that balance must therefore rank high among a state's priorities.

Today a balance of power means, unhappily, a balance of nuclear capability, with all its attendant dangers. This is not the place to discuss the moral questions which Cardinal Hume raises in that connection. I will only say that they were extensively canvassed in two Christian reports published after the last war: *The Era of Atomic Power* (1946), by a commission of the British Council of Churches, and *The Church and the Atom* (1948), by an Archbishops' commission, of which I was myself the scribe.

As far as I can see, the main conclusions of the commissioners still hold good. Despite the frequent abuse to which it has been subjected, the doctrine of "necessity" yet has a legitimate place in the moral theology of warfare, and it is possible to conceive circumstances in which it would justify the use of nuclear weapons; and since the renunciation of such weapons would, in any conflict with a power ready to use them, render all other weapons useless, a state that renounces them would be failing in its duty to the people it was bound to defend.

At the present time, when Russia, having achieved superiority on its western flank, is apparently taking over the *Drang nach Osten* that used to be associated with Germany, and when those of us who remember the late thirties have an uncomfortable feeling of déjà vu, I should have thought it was the duty of Christians to face the realities of the situation themselves and to encourage others to do likewise, even if that should entail abandoning utopian dreams and the national sport of demanding money with menaces.

Of course we should do our utmost to relieve hunger and poverty, and no doubt we could do much more than we are doing in that regard; but I cannot believe that in the world as it is, the oft-repeated call to choose between defence and charity makes any kind of sense.

Yours faithfully,
G. B. BENTLEY,
8 The Cloisters, Windsor Castle.

Towards Christian unity

From Dr J. L. Lambert

Sir, Mr Eliot Hodgkin (December 29) wonders what a Gallup poll on the reunion of Christendom would reveal. I am reminded of a story told me by the beloved Anglican priest, Colin Stephenson, who ran the Shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham. After the local Salvation Army band had assisted at a procession carrying the image of the Virgin solemnly round the village, he was asked what he thought of the religious feelings of the children in charge. He told him: "It is not our way of religion, but we were delighted to help you. I don't myself think much of these reunion schemes. We each have our own little plot of garden which we cultivate in our own special way to the glory of God. We often chat over the fences in between, and borrow each other's lawnmowers and shears. What is the point of pulling these all down, and turning them into a dreary municipal park with an elegant public convenience at the centre?"

I doubt if I will ever get to heaven, but, if I do, I am sure there will be a Salvation Army band playing just inside to welcome the weary pilgrims up the hill, and I think both Pope John Paul and Dr Hans Küng will not be far away.

Yours sincerely,
JAMES LAMBERT,
Trinity College, Oxford.

From Mr Alan S. Green

Sir, Given Russia's attitude to human rights, with countless thousands in labour camps, it is intolerable to many of us that we should contemplate joining in the playing of sham-amateur games and flag waving in the Olympics in Moscow. Given further proof of Russia's intentions with the rape of Afghanistan, it must be plain to even the politically naive that it is impossible for anyone to content plate going to the Moscow Olympics.

Revolution, as Iran proves, comes from within. We must bring home to the Russian people how loathed their Government's aims and ideas are in the free world. The lesson of the 1956 Berlin Olympics was that to take part was to allow the host nation to pull the cloak of everyday normality over their inhuman activities. Until they prove otherwise, we must not pretend the present day rulers of the USSR are part of the civilized world. The infamous Berlin Olympics of 1936 must not be mirrored by Moscow in 1980. We must boycott these games.

Yours faithfully,

ALAN S. GREEN,
30 Malvern Drive,
Woodford Green,
Essex.

January 1.

From Mr Robert Mitchell

Sir, Some years ago you printed

a letter from me condemning the exclusion of a truly national multi-racial Rhodesian team from the Olympic Games, as the first overt

intrusion of politics into the Olympics—the previously excluded South African team had not been invited.

It gives me no joy that my pre-

diction that Rhodesia's exclusion

was the first step on a very steep

and slippery slope of politicising the games, has proved too correct.

The Olympics are now political

boycotts, exclusions and so on are

now part of the Olympic language.

This being so, it would be indefensible now to hold the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. I had the privilege of

competing in two Olympics (taking

part in the honours, not winning)

in the 1956 Berlin games. Can anyone doubt the enormous political benefit Hitler derived from those immovable, unyielding games?

Moscow would be the same.

Any doubt about German Jews in

1936.

But politicians rarely appreciate

what is involved for thousands of

young people throughout the world

who have dedicated years of their

lives to preparation for these games.

Equally indefensible would it be to deprive them of the realization of their just hopes and aspirations.

Can we avoid both evils? I

believe we can. In Montreal the

facilities of 1976 remain in perfect

order. It would require an enormous

feat of organization to bring them

back into use in about eight

months. But also in Montreal is

Mayor Drapeau, the dynamo behind

Expo 67 and the 1976 Olympics. I

am sure he would not only accept

the challenge but would delight in

it.

To hold the Olympics twice in

succession in one city would be

unprecedented but would not create

a precedent. For it is equally un-

precedented for a nation to embark

on a massive foreign adventure

without a clear purpose.

Let the Games be moved to Mon-

treal. No other single gesture will

prove so conclusively to Russi-

the world

How will the world's airlines cope with rising fuel costs? p15

WYN



Stock markets	
FT Ind	419.3, up 5.0
FT Gilts	65.07, down 0.02
Sterling	
S2.2620	up 2.4 cents
Index 70.3	up 0.5
Dollar	
Index 84.0	down 0.4
Gold	
\$630 an ounce	up \$40
3-month money	
Inter-bank 16% to 17%	
Euro S 14.9/16 to 14.11/16	

IN BRIEF

Iran pact to refine oil in West

Iran is completing an agreement with several Western oil companies, including British Petroleum, to take a stake in the refining part of its crude oil, a senior official of NIOC, the state oil company announced in Tehran.

Under the plan, about 20 per cent of all Iranian crude will be refined abroad by the Western companies as secondary contractors, he said.

Iran is producing an average of 3.5 million barrels a day at present, of which it refines domestically about 700,000 barrels.

Mr Ali Akbar Moinfar, the oil minister said: "With this move Iranian oil revenues will increase without raising the level of production."

Asked if the agreement was already signed, the official said: "Some part of it is already signed with some companies, but it is being negotiated with other companies."

MG offer ready

The consortium, led by Aston Martin Lagonda, which has been studying the prospect of buying the MG sports car operation from BL, has now formulated an offer which is expected to be put to BL executives this week. Mr Alan Curtis, chairman of Aston Martin, declined to reveal the nature or extent of any offer.

Dutch inflation rises

Dutch economists expect higher inflation and unemployment in the Netherlands in 1980, accompanied by slower economic growth and less favourable balance of payments prospects than appeared possible before the latest oil price rises. They forecast an average inflation rate this year of around 6.5 per cent, compared with about 4.2 per cent in 1979, and some now feel a 7 per cent rate is possible.

Interest reduced

Interest rates on state loans made under Section 7 of the Industry Act, 1972, have been reduced from yesterday. The concessionary rate on loans for employment creating projects goes down from 14 to 13.5 per cent and the "broadly commercial" rate which covers loans for modernization projects not providing additional employment is reduced from 17 to 16.5 per cent.

Mortgage rate firm

An early drop in the record 15 per cent mortgage rate is unlikely, even if other interest rates come down, says Mr Leonard Williams, chairman of the Building Societies Association. Even when rates do begin to fall, building societies will need to ensure that they can meet the growing demand for mortgage finance.

Far East trade tour

Mr John Nott, the Secretary for Trade, will visit Japan, Korea and Hongkong later this month for talks with government ministers, leading industrialists and businessmen.

Dow Jones rises

On the New York Stock Exchange the Dow Jones industrial average rose 3.16 to 832. The dollar stood at 1.32472 and the pound at 0.58928 against the SDR.

Bankers rule out sale of reserves to hold back rush into gold

From Peter Norman
Basic, Jan 7

Western central bank governors today ruled out any concerted sale of gold from reserves to quell the speculative rush of funds into the metal on the world's bullion markets.

The idea, which has been suggested at various times in the past few months by Herr Fritz Leutwiler, the Swiss Bank president, founded when it became apparent that it would receive no support from the West German Federal Bank and the Bank of France.

As these central banks have the second and third largest gold reserves in the Western world, their agreement was crucial to the launching of a concerted sale.

The gold price yesterday soared again in London, after a new price record set in Hongkong overnight. There was two-way trading in the metal, however, and some semblance of normality in the markets after the hectic trading of last week. Although the price closed \$40 an ounce higher than on Friday, it had slipped during the afternoon and closed at \$630 an ounce, level with last week's peak.

It appears that the gyrations of the gold markets were discussed at some length yesterday at the regular monthly meeting of central bankers here.

There was some satisfaction that the gold boom had not as yet had a truly adverse effect on currency markets. Although the dollar had to be supported last week by central bank intervention, the scale of intervention, at an estimated \$500 million on Wednesday and Thursday, was comparatively small. One senior central bank official was so far as to claim that last week's events showed there was no obvious link between gold price movements and dollar stability.

However, although currency markets were not upset by the gold rush for most of yesterday, there was sudden weakening in the dollar rate in the day.

In New York gold closed at \$524 to \$629 after reaching a high of \$635 and a low of \$611.

The pound closed the day at \$2.2620, up 2.4 cents from Friday's close. Against a basket of currencies the pound rose 0.5 point to 70.8 per cent of its 1971 value.

The dollar also weakened somewhat against the Swiss and German currencies.

Behind their facade of aloof calm, however, the West's central bankers do have some worries about the gold price rise. It has led to a dramatic increase in the value of the reserves of those central banks lucky or far-sighted enough to have large gold holdings and this represents a strong potential increase in international liquidity.

Dealers in New York appear to be bullish on the gold price because of expectations of further political instability in the Middle East and because they see continuing gold bullion supply shortages. The Soviet Union, a major source of gold supply, may well ensure that it achieves its desired sales through private placements.

Globe £14m bid for trust group

By Alison Mitchell
Insurance Correspondent

C. T. Bowring, the insurance broking group, has been asked to consider a £246m takeover bid from Marsh & McLennan of the United States, the world's biggest broking concern.

The terms of the offer are £9 of Globe 11% per cent convertible unsecured loan stock 1990/95 for every 10 West of England ordinary shares.

Assuming a par value for the loan stock, this values the West of England shares at 90p against yesterday's suspended market price of 70p.

The bid is not underwritten and there is no cash alternative. However, Globe has already received acceptances for the 58 per cent of the West of England equity owned by the directors and their families, funds managed by subsidiaries and Electra Investment, an 87 per cent-owned subsidiary of Globe.

If it goes ahead the Marsh takeover bid will represent the first offer for a British com-

Financial Editor, page 15

PRICE CHANGES

Rises

Booker McCon	12p to 26sp
Boots	4s to 16sp
Bowring	20s to 142p
Brit Arrow	2p to 224p
Courtaulds	2p to 73p
Falls	
Appleyard	3p to 58p
Brus	8p to 330p
Eng & Int	16p to 67p
Gloves Grp	3p to 80p
Hongk & Shang	6p to 162p

THE POUND

Bank	Bank	Bank	Bank	Bank
2.05	2.00	1.40	10.90	
Australia \$	22.20	27.20		
Austria Sch	67.00	63.50	1.51	1.68
Belgium Fr	2.68	2.61	154.50	147.50
Canada \$	12.45	11.90	9.50	9.20
Denmark Krk	8.58	8.18	3.72	3.50
Finland Mkk	9.30	8.50	2.30	2.24
France Fr	4.02	3.60	52.00	48.00
Germany Dm	99.00	94.00		
Greece Dr	11.40	10.50		
Hongkong \$	172.00	170.00		
Italy Lire	1855.00	1851.00		
Japan Yen	551.00	546.00		
Netherlands Gld	4.43	4.20		

For small denominations bank rates apply. International rates apply to foreign currency business.

THE TIMES BUSINESS NEWS

Government advisory report recommends rapid development of newly emerging industries

Britain urged to import foreign technology

By Kenneth Owen
Technology Editor

Specific technology strategies for different areas of industry should be developed by the National Economic Development Council's sector working parties, the Government's Advisory Council for Applied Research and Development (ACARD) said yesterday.

The Department of Industry should study how the Government could foster the rapid development of industries based on newly emerging technologies such as information technology and biotechnology.

And the department should also examine how to stimulate the transfer of more technology into the United Kingdom from abroad, perhaps by setting up a new agency.

These are among the conclusions of an ACARD report on "technological change: threats and opportunities for the United Kingdom" which was presented yesterday by Sir James Menter, principal of Queen Mary College, London University. Sir James is a deputy chairman of ACARD and chaired the working party which wrote the report.

The Menter report is the latest in a series of official reports which have all concluded that, if Britain is to survive as a trading nation, industry must introduce new technology more rapidly than in the past in order to match the performance of her competitors.

Though the conclusion is familiar, the report says: "some new production methods while others need new materials and design procedures. Hence the recommendation for the sector-by-sector technology strategies. The research and development work of the Department of Industry, the industrial research associations and the relevant research councils should be aligned with these strategies."



Sir James Menter: chaired the working party which wrote the report.

the implications for research and development, but indicates the wider issues involved.

Among other recommendations, the council suggests that more engineers might be appointed to British Embassies and other offices abroad; and the Government should pay greater attention to the technological needs of small firms.

The Department of Industry should try to direct research and development towards the service industries, particularly those such as information processing, software and systems design, and computer-aided design—with export potential.

Different industries require different forms of technological innovation, the report says: some need new production methods while others need new materials and design procedures. Hence the recommendation for the sector-by-sector technology strategies. The research and development work of the Department of Industry, the industrial research associations and the relevant research councils should be aligned with these strategies.

In their technology strategy work, the National Economic Development Committee and the sector working parties should pay particular attention to the "interfaces" between industrial sectors, the report says, and to potential industries which might be created by the combination of technologies from different sectors.

In recommending the fostering of new industries such as those based on information technology and biotechnology (industrial technology based on the exploitation of biological or renewable resources rather than mineral or non-renewable resources), the report also

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BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

The argument about building society funds

Building Societies will be in the spotlight again over the coming weeks. Next week the Building Societies Association will unveil the results of the inquiry it launched into the possibility of improving the flow of house purchase funds—this will be followed at some stage this spring by the results of a similar inquiry set up last November by the Secretary of State for the Environment.

For good measure there is a new Bow Group pamphlet which says that both the fairest and most efficient way of channelling money into house purchase would be for a rationalization of the monetary intermediation process in this country, i.e. the absorption of the building societies into the mainstream banking system.

There are always going to be those who cannot find the house they want, those who cannot afford the house they want (or these days even the one they already have), and those who simply cannot afford a house at all. How much can be done to improve the situation on the supply side of the housing market, either in terms of greater land availability or more cost effective building, is an open question. But the answer is probably not a great deal, at least in the short term.

The more pertinent question, then, is what if anything, can, or should be, done about the flow of money into the housing market. More particularly, should the building societies attempt to clear the market by allowing rates to rise still further if necessary? Unfortunately, the answer is not simple.

Apart from the fact that one would first have to accept that one was simply switching frustration from one group of borrowers to another, one would run into a host of other considerations, not least that of the tax position of the building societies.

That is not to say that the issue should be ducked. The Bow Group pamphlet argues that rid of the composite tax rate system the societies would at last be forced to tap the wholesale markets in a big way—in other words enable them greatly to increase the flow of funds at an increase in cost that would be small in relation to the cost increase needed to obtain a similar flow of funds under the present tax-cushioned retail system.

Whatever the system, however, one would still have to find a solution to the problem of interest rate volatility, and I suspect that even in a fully integrated banking/building society system, banks and government lending priorities would, from time to time, not be precisely the same as the priorities that a truly free market might be wanting.

Globe An imaginative route

Even after the contraction of the sector following a spate of takeovers, there are few signs of investment trusts becoming more attractive with the discounts on asset value as wide as ever. Instead it is beginning to look as though some of the more imaginative trusts are trying another route which involves them moving into other areas of asset management:

A move that has some parallels with Rothschild Investment Trust's bid for Dawnay Day, Globe Investment Trust has made an agreed £142m bid for the West of England Trust which provides it with a stake in unit trusts and life assurance. Through its interest in Electra Investment, Globe has had a stake in West of England for some time and its full bid has no doubt been hastened along by the interest Britannia Arrow has recently been showing in West of England.

The demise of the closed end investment trust has long been a discussion point in the sector and for a trust with Globe's entrepreneurial flair (not to mention Electra's well publicised interest in small companies) there are clear attractions in having open-ended funds under management since this provides the room to buy into special situations without having to wait until funds are available or selling off other interests.

Meanwhile the ending of fixed management charges has made the unit trust movement more attractive and for a group of Electra's size there are clearly plenty of economies of scale to be had.

Despite the problems of valuing the convertible Globe is using for the takeover, the

terms of the offer value West of England at around 90p against the share price of 76p. The pity is that there are few other unit trust groups of a size that could appeal to other investment trusts looking for this way out of their predicament.

It has been obvious for some time that the price/earnings ratio based on historic cost earnings is, as a method of evaluating shares, rather worse than useless. Current cost accounting is going to require a new approach: but while current cost cover on the dividend as a method of measuring a share's worth is both safe and intellectually respectable, there is a major problem in applying it to those companies which have no current cost earnings.

History suggests that the temptation to write off those companies which are all assets and no income has to be resisted.

The method of valuation now devised by stockbrokers de Zoete & Bevan seeks to get around this dilemma by combining both a view on the current cost return on assets to be expected by a reasonable investor, and an expectation of the effects of inflation on the value of those assets, to produce a "standard share price", against which the actual price of the shares will show a greater or lesser discount.

The net effect is to attribute a value, even to the shares of those companies where there are no current cost earnings; though in this case it is a value based largely on the capacity of those assets to produce cash flow which, in the opinion of the brokers, ought to be distributed to shareholders unless the company is able to invest it to produce a rate of return greater than that for which the reasonable investor might hope.

In addition to their "standard price", the brokers have formulated a "limit price" likewise linked to return on assets, which is designed to limit the risks implicit in a formula which relies on two bases. The net effect is to produce a mechanical system for weighing up the price of one share against another or against the lot. What it will not do is weigh up the virtues of one against another. That, as always, is a matter of caveat emptor.

Bowring

Marsh takes the initiative

After Bowring's failure to beat off Marsh & McLennan's takeover ambitions in the United States courts, the American group has decided to pile on the pressure. By giving Bowring shareholders a view of the sort of deal which could be on offer, whether or not the Bowring board surrenders, Marsh & McLennan has gained an important initiative.

A share and cash offer of 168p would represent a fullfill price for Bowring representing an exit p/e ratio of over 12 assuming full-year profits of around £36m against a sector average of under 8. Marsh, of course, also hopes Bowring shareholders will be mindful of the downside risk should the offer fail with the British group facing the possible withdrawal of Marsh business, which could amount to almost a fifth of its total.

Whatever the outcome the American invasion is still a long way from the beach, however. And the shares which closed at 142p last night are clearly reflecting the doubts.

Although dilution would be fairly small—Marsh sells on around 11 times latest earnings—by offering just under 30 per cent of its equity and £277m cash the American group would be taking a mighty leap.

It would also have to contend with the problem of approvals concerning ownership of Bowring's merchant-banking subsidiary Singer & Friedlander, possible Monopolies intervention and perhaps most significantly the problem of Lloyd's rules on foreign ownership.

Marsh has always stated it would accede to Lloyd's wishes and if this was the case a buyer would have to be found for 75 per cent of Bowring's Lloyd's interests. That is, of course, unless Marsh, as the biggest purveyor of United States business to the Lloyd's market, decided to use its muscle to persuade the exchange to think again on the 20 per cent rule.

Clearly it is not only Bowring which is facing the crunch but Lloyd's itself and much of the British broking community.

Business Diary: Outside edge • BL and buying British

Being a non-executive outside director of an American company can be rewarding these days, even at a time of White House calls for pay restraint the happy breed is keeping ahead of inflation.

The New York Conference Board, an economic research group, has just completed a survey of 1,006 companies which shows that the average pay of outside directors rose in the last two years by \$2,200 to \$11,500 (about £5,130) among manufacturing companies and by \$2,000 to \$9,000 at non-manufacturing groups. (President Carter, it will be recalled, asked for pay rises limits of 7 per cent).

The remuneration is naturally larger in the nation's biggest companies, those with annual sales of more than \$3,000m. Here the pay given to outside directors of manufacturing companies has increased in the last two years by \$2,900 on average to \$20,400, while at large non-manufacturing groups the gain was \$1,000 to an average of \$16,500. On average, the Conference Board adds, directors of large companies meet about ten times each year.

It will hardly come as a surprise that oil companies pay the most on average to their outside directors—now \$18,000.

As well as making a flat sum payment most companies also give a fee for each board meeting attended. And nearly 90 per cent of the companies surveyed pay an additional sum for service by non-executive directors on various board committees.

It may come as rather more of a surprise that the worst of the surprises that the work pavers are the banks, with me his council house for £50 more than it cost him.

Bill Jordan, midlands divisional organizer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, is backing the controversial £2m "Buy British" campaign of Sir Michael Edwards, BL's chairman. Jordan says that as BL's car builders now accept new structures, new models and new standards, British car buyers should reciprocate by no longer buying foreign makes and "importing unemployment".

Jordan, who is also president of the West Midlands Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions, says that news papers and television are too busy cashing in on the easy mileage of Britain's industrial relations to show the real cost of buying foreign cars.

He says "We have about 1.3 million unemployed. The cost to the taxpayer is estimated at about £3,000 each person, this being what they receive, plus what they should be contributing, plus the cost of service and social security and so on. The final cost becomes at staggering £3,900 a year."

"So those contemplating buying a foreign car I would advise to add their share of that amount as a taxpayer to the misleading price on that glossy Japanese car."

Alas for the Jordan view, however, negotiations to change the working practices which have blighted BL factories for the past 25 years have just broken down after three months of talking. Union negotiators will be reporting this to senior shop stewards in Coventry on Thursday—and the militiamen will undoubtedly call for a strike.

If they carry the day it will be a double blow for Sir Michael. It will leave him a short

of cars in the middle of a costly sales campaign and further fuel the anti-BL worker feeling.

Hollowood

"We're leaving the hall. The gardener's agreed to sell me his council house for £50 more than it cost him."



How does it happen that the American Embassy's London Gin is distilled in Linden, New Jersey? Answer: by importing their Gordon's from a Distillers Company Limited plant in the United States, rather than buying it here the American diplomats get their supplies free of the duty. Tanqueray Gordon imports it for them in little drums and bottles it here once or twice a year.

Ross Davies

A slow-burning fuse in the Companies Bill

Some time later this month, on present plans, the House of Commons will take the report stage of the Companies Bill. As a general rule, companies legislation has all the sex appeal of a bowl of cold custard. It is, therefore, probable that the average man in the street has noticed that, at long last, a major change in the nature of the limited company is slipping peacefully on to the statute book.

This is not a reference to the creation of a criminal offence of "insider trading" in securities. There has been much huffing and puffing over insider trading over the years. It is notable mainly for the fact that this is one area of regulation where the City's establishment has come more or less willingly to the conclusion that self-regulation is insufficient and that the long arm of the law must be invoked.

In the form that has emerged from the committee stage the Secretary of State for Trade will have powers to appoint inspectors to investigate prima facie cases where those who inside knowledge have bought and sold shares. They in turn will have the effect powers of subpoena over persons and documents.

It remains to be seen what difference this change in the law makes in practice. The proposals for the criminal offence have been much tightened in scope and application since they appeared in their original form in the 1978 Labour Companies Bill, which fell with the General Election. There still remains, however, one major area where what is being proposed is so grey that most cannot see their way.

The basic offence is one of sealing in shares to your own advantage when you are in the possession of information about a company which is not generally available and which might affect that company's share price one way or the other. The problem relates to all directors and senior executives.

Unless they are gaga, most directors are most of the time in a position to judge whether the shares of their own company are being overrated or undervalued. Their powers shall include the interests of the company's employees generally as well as the interests of its members (i.e. shareholders).

It has had a long history. The 1973 Conservative Companies Bill, introduced by Mr Peter Walker, contained a single sentence clause which would have established that "the matters to which the directors of a company are entitled to have regard in exercising their powers shall include the interests of the company's employees generally as well as the interests of its members (i.e. shareholders)".

Mr Dell's 1978 Labour Companies Bill took up where Mr Walker left off. It incorporated the above clause verbatim and then added a sub-clause (2), which said that where a court had decided whether a director was in breach of his duties towards shareholders it should also take into account the new statutory requirements to have regard to the interests of employees as well.

Another General Election stopped that getting to the statute book and now looks as if it will fall to Mr

Nott to get the clause past the post. In the interim, however, it has taken an even more substantial form.

The first part of the relevant clause remains from the Walker version. The sub-clause (2), however, is now much strengthened. It states baldly that the duty to his shareholders. The problem is not academic, particularly when redundancy programmes or takeovers are on the agenda. The new legislation will be placing two kinds of duties on directors. They will not always be reconcilable. It is a fundamental change in the legal basis of the company.

duty owed to a company by its directors." In other words, if this clause eventually reaches the statute book, the board of a company will have in law the same trustee-like duties to employees as it has to shareholders.

In addition, the Bill would finally reverse the celebrated ruling in the 1962 case, *Parke v Daily News Ltd*, where Mr Justice Pilkington found that the £2m from the sale of *The News Chronicle* and *The Star* belonged entirely to the shareholders and could not be used to pay for employees' redundancy and loss of pension rights.

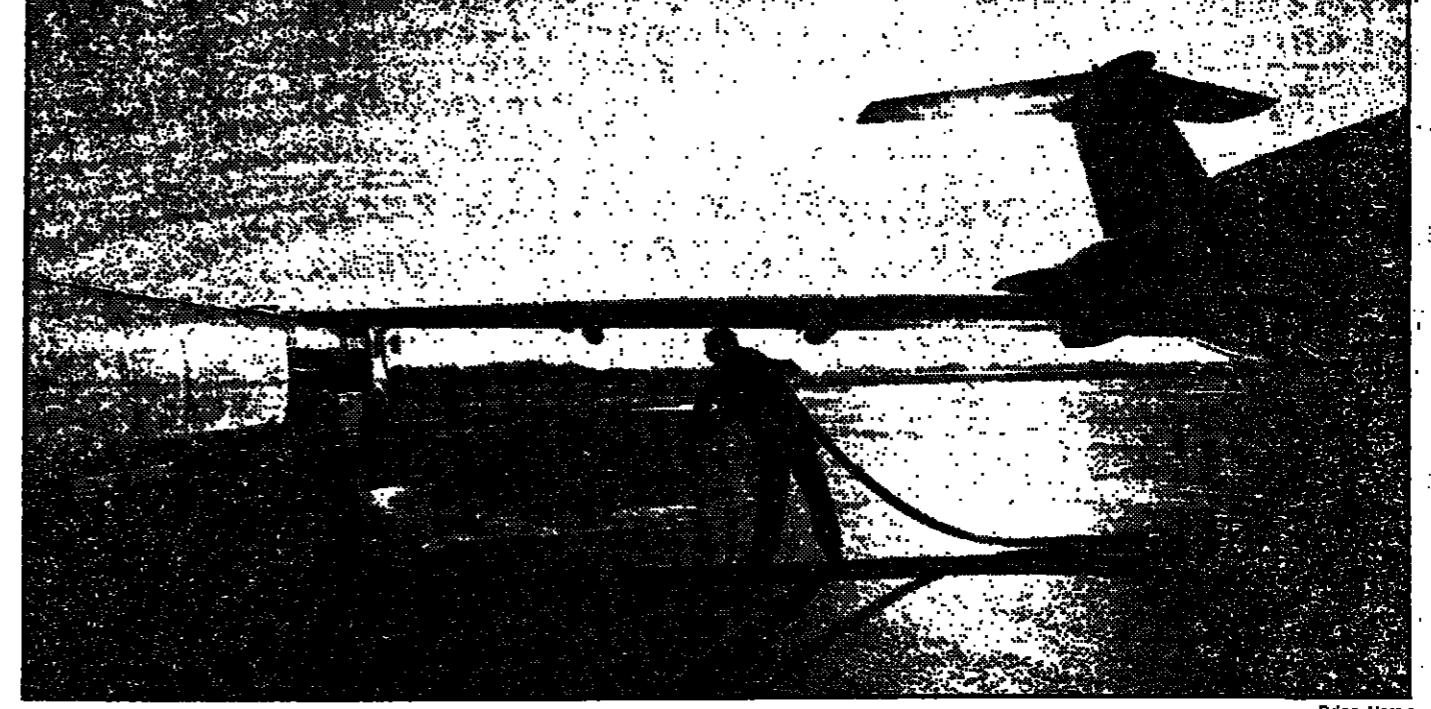
The Bill would allow such provisions for employees in future, even if it was not in other respects in the best interest of the company.

Taken together, these two provisions would entrench in company law the reality of "best practice". For, as a matter of fact, most companies take into account the interests of their employees, even though existing law requires a director only to consider his duty to the shareholders.

The change is, however, still important. When it was first considered, much thought was given to the question of what a director should do if he concluded that his duty to his employees was in conflict with his duty to his shareholders. The problem is not academic, particularly when redundancy programmes or takeovers are on the agenda. The new legislation will be placing two kinds of duties on directors. They will not always be reconcilable. It is a fundamental change in the legal basis of the company.

Fares could rise sharply, but with little benefit to profits

Fuel costs: how will the airlines cope?



Early morning refuelling at Stansted: big economies in the use of fuel are already being made. Brian Harris

frequencies of flights on routes which are not strongly patronized or have even cancelled them.

And they use a complicated logistics operation to "tanker" fuel around the world to avoid particular airports where it is scarce and expensive.

Some airlines have gone as far as to set up special departments whose only job is to seek out, recommend and implement ways of saving jet fuel.

The search for economies is benefiting the aircraft and aircraft engine manufacturers. All of these had a bumper year in 1979 and expect the pattern to be repeated this year as airlines scramble for the economies which are to be had from the new generation of high-technology engines, using up to 30 per cent less fuel than their predecessors.

The market for fitting new technology engines, such as the American-French CFM-56, into existing airliners such as Boeing 707s and DC-8s, in place of the "gas guzzlers" which drive them now, is also being stimulated.

Yet, at the same time as they are taking these housekeeping

measures, the airlines are under increasing pressure to fly more route miles as greater numbers of passengers are

attracted to them by the promise of cheap fares and package deals, particularly between Europe and the United States. Last year was a boom period for tourism to America with six dollar showing few signs of strengthening, the airlines expect the pattern to be repeated in 1980.

One stock exchange analyst in the United States predicts, however, that the impact of increased fuel prices on the airlines between the third quarter of last year and the end of the second quarter of this year will force them to raise their fares by 17 per cent. Such a rise would mark the end of

the cheap-fare boom, but it would do nothing to help airline profitability.

Most airlines are expected to report big losses for the fourth quarter of last year, although they put their fares up. Pan Am's third-quarter earnings were down 40 per cent compared with the same period of 1978. Trans World's down 60 per cent, Delta's down 61 per cent, Eastern's down 85 per cent and American's down 97 per cent.

The magazine asked airlines what they are doing to try to hold back the surge in fuel costs. Among the worthy answers was one light-hearted one—"Trying to marry a Saudi Arabian sheikh's daughter".

According to an Air Transport World survey, airlines reported that their costs for fuel were rising by anything from 20 per cent to 130 per cent last year and they expected further increases in 1980. To take a few examples, Air India is paying \$1.04 a gallon now

Arthur Reed

Hard questions on the EMS

Peter Norman

The European Monetary System has found few friends in ten months or so of existence.

Britain shows no sign of joining the scheme's exchange rate regime and the EMS has virtually disappeared from the political vocabulary of the two prime movers behind it, Herr Schmidt, the West German Chancellor, and President Giscard d'Estate of France.

The work carried out so far on the second stage by the European monetary committee and committee of EEC central banks appears largely nominal at first sight, but in the negotiations that led up to the first stage of EMS, shared technical problems can also involve serious implications of a political and constitutional nature.

Despite such innovations as the European Currency Unit (ECU) as the denominator of the EMS, the creation of an indicator of divergence based on the ECU and greatly increased credit facilities, the system's present exchange rate regime is essentially the old European currency snake by another name.

Will the European Monetary Fund go the same way, ending up as little more than a rechristened European Monetary Cooperation Fund—the skeletal Luxembourg-based institution that acts as a clearing house for transactions between the central banks operating the Monetary Fund?

Or will Europe's leaders decide on a new supranational body that will acquire some of the powers at present held by treasuries of central banks and possibly give the EMS a push in the direction of the old dream of economic and monetary union?

Should the fund intervene on foreign exchange markets? Another question to be resolved is the exact nature of the European Currency Unit.

The present supply of ECU's comes solely from revolving swap agreements under which EMS and central banks keep a fifth of their gold and dollar reserves with the European Monetary Cooperation Fund.

As such, the unit is a long

way from being a full reserve asset. Being based on swaps, its existence is precarious. It is

Stock Exchange Prices Firmer tone

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings Began, Dec 28. Dealings End, Jan 11. § Contango Day, Jan 14. Settlement Day, Jan 21
§ Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days

5 Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days

John Foord

plant and machinery valuers

Prices on this page are now supplied by Exchange Telegraph's Epic system and are the last prices available from London stock market dealers yesterday evening. Various indices produced by The Times, including the Index of 150 industrial stocks, are being reviewed and recalculated to cover the period of non-delivery.

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(Christopher) on December 24th
December 1979.BOYD—To Shirley Anne and John—
a daughter (Sarah) on January 4th
1980.CAREY—On December 22nd,
John and Linda—son (John) and
daughter (Sarah) on January 1st
1980.

CHAPMAN—To James and

Sarah (Jane)—daughter (Sarah)

on January 4th, 1980.

CHATTON—On January 1st, 1980.

COOPER—To Barbara and David—

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CROSSLEY—On January 6th at

University College Hospital, and

John—son (John) and

Sarah (Sarah) on January 6th, 1980.

DELL—On 2nd January, 1980,

at the Royal Berkshire Hospital,

and Andrew—daughter (Sarah)

on January 6th, 1980.

DIXON—To Muriel (Muriel)

and Neil on 19th

January, 1980.

FOOT—To Yvonne (Yvonne)

and Alan—son (Richard)

Heather—daughter (Sarah)

on January 6th, 1980.

GARRETT—To Barbara and

David—daughter (Sarah)

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in Liverpool, and Keith

Lucy—son (John) and

Sarah (Sarah) on January 6th, 1980.

HART—On January 3rd, to

Barbara (Barbara)

and David—son (John)

and a brother for Benjamin.

HOLLOWAY—On January 4th, to

Gillian and Harry—son (John)

and a brother (Michael)

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